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## POE'S LITERARY BALTIMORE.

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The years that Poe spent in Baltimore long baffled his biographers. Like the interior of Africa in the old geographies, that space of time had either to be frankly marked "unexplored" or else filled in with detail based almost wholly on conjecture. In recent times after a scrutiny more searching than is usually applied to any problem in American literary history its obscurity has been considerably lessened; but there is still much that we earnestly desire to know.

The limits of the period to which I allude are well determined. From the spring of 1831, after he had got himself dismissed from West Point, to August 1835, when he went south to begin work on the *Southern Literary Messenger*, Baltimore was Poe's home; and two unfortunate visits to the Allan residence in Richmond made it increasingly clear to him that he had no other. It is this chapter of his life which Harrison, writing about 1901, called "the dark years," and which Hervey Allen, writing in 1926, after a quarter of a century during which interest in Poe had steadily mounted, still felt obliged to call "the mysterious years."

However little we may know about them, these were obviously momentous years in Poe's life. He came down from New York with the nightmare of his West Point career behind him,

penniless, without trade or profession, without influential friends, and without much reason to hope that a world which had ignored his three little books of unusual verse had any place for him as a literary craftsman. He had printed, so far as we know, only twenty-three poems, many of them very short; and he had done practically nothing in prose. He had written *Israfel* and *To Helen*; but he had not yet written *The Haunted Palace*, which I regard as his finest poem, or *The Raven* or *Ulalume*, or *The Bells* or *Annabel Lee*. A man of more vigorous physique and more stable personality would perhaps have solved the problem by abandoning letters and making his own place in the business life of the thriving city. Had Poe been able and willing to do this the loss to American literature might have been very great.

That he earnestly tried to find work there can be no doubt, for we know of applications for appointment as clerk and as teacher; and we can be sure that before he humbled his pride to John Allan he must have tried various other expedients. When we remember that a little repute as a poet was likely to be regarded as the poorest of recommendations by practical folk a century ago, and that his method of securing release from the military academy must have been known, it is easy to understand how he failed. What is less easy to understand is how, in spite of so poor a beginning and such meagerness of opportunity, Poe wrested from failure such a degree of success that at the end of the period he had the friendship of the chief literary man of Maryland, and an opportunity for editorial work which he proved brilliantly competent to do. The helpless amateur had emerged as a confident and capable man of letters.

To determine by what means and under what influences this transformation was accomplished is one of the most fascinating problems in Poe criticism. We are not greatly helped toward its solution by reminiscences of Poe's calls on young ladies and of his verses scribbled in their albums, or of his making one of a Bohemian circle in the Seven Stars Tavern. The story of violent scenes in his wooing of Mary Devereaux and of his attack-

ing a member of her family with a horsewhip may be literally true; but one wonders whether an account of such a love affair reported forty years after the events took place, and when the poet's fame had become established, may not have been considerably exaggerated. Dr. Moran, you will remember, told one story of Poe's death in his letter to Mrs. Clemm and quite another many years later on the lecture platform, when it was a matter of some consequence to have attended Poe in his last illness.

What we do know with reasonable certainty of these years is that in them Poe had no regular employment except his own literary work and that he was on the whole both sober and industrious. The occasion when on the invitation of classmates at West Point he took part in a champagne supper at Barnum's Hotel and was reproached by Mrs. Clemm for being "not himself" was clearly exceptional. It is evident that during these four and a half years Poe toiled pretty steadily at the task of making himself a man of letters. What we could wish to know, then, is not more about his social life, such as it was, or about his painful relations with John Allan, but rather the literary influences that so shaped and matured his powers.

Students of the intellectual life of the busy little city of some 80,000 souls in which Poe served his apprenticeship as a writer of prose will find its literary taste and culture somewhat surprising. I have read an attempt to explain Poe's lack of adjustment with the life of his time on the ground that he was an artist in the uncongenial atmosphere of the frontier. The fact is that in the first third of the nineteenth century the frontier had moved much farther inland. Colonial Annapolis, indeed, had pretty faithfully copied the coffee-house life of eighteenth-century London while Baltimore was yet an unimportant village; and now, when Baltimore had far outstripped the capital, the provincial tradition was maintained. Pinckney and Poe combined high promise with much frustration and defeat, not because they were in an atmosphere that they could not breathe freely; but because of inherent physical weaknesses and circumstances that were entirely accidental. Genius often makes

its own world in spite of obstacles and just as often it is the means of its own destruction.

Equally unconvincing it seems to me is the suggestion, apparently followed by the author and by the producer of the recent biographical play *Plumes in the Dust*, that Poe is to be explained as an illustration of genius surrounded by a mediocrity against which it reacts with fierce scorn. As a critic Poe praised as often as he blamed and much of the pretentious emptiness that he deflated richly deserved his attacks. Most young intellectuals are somewhat cocky, and I find no evidence that in this period Poe was more so than his contemporaries.

The score of years from 1815 to 1835 in American literary history constitute an unusually interesting period from several points of view. For one thing, it was a time when publication was undertaken lightly, and the small city was quite as ready to establish a new journal as was the metropolis. Dr. John E. Uhler has shown, in an unpublished dissertation, that in the years from 1815 to 1833, inclusive, no less than 72 new periodicals were announced for publication in Baltimore. A few of these never got beyond the prospectus stage, and forty-seven of them did not survive more than twelve months. There was in the whole period no one year in which there were not launched at least two new periodical ventures. All this implies an attitude toward literary journalism that certainly does not exist in the Baltimore of a century later and a society in which the inception of Poe's consuming desire to create his own journal is quite understandable.

There was also a surprising amount of book publishing, furthered, of course, by the absence of international copyright which left a master printer free to employ his idle press by turning out his own editions of works popular abroad; but the issues were by no means restricted to pirated works. An adequate study of the output of such presses as those of Joseph Robinson and Fielding Lucas, Jr. remains to be made.

Booksellers were numerous and Dr. Uhler's careful study of the advertisements of books offered for sale in the leading newspapers records a surprising number and variety of works, and

proves that a popular book in England was often imported directly and placed on sale within a few weeks of its appearance in the London shops. Baltimore was then the third city in the union in population and was enjoying a lucrative foreign trade and receiving an enormous foreign immigration. Its architects and artists commanded respect beyond its boundaries and its business men were among the most progressive in the country. When Poe knew it, its intellectual life was at high tide, a tide that it was not to reach again until long after the war.

To a certain extent, of course, Poe's circumstances may have kept him out of the full current of the intellectual life that I have described. His poverty would have barred him from much of the social life of a city which, a generation later, Oliver Wendell Holmes could describe as the gastronomic metropolis of the union. Kennedy and Latrobe do not seem to have been aware of his existence before the *Visitor* prize contest. Among those who did know him and who have left written records of their relations with him were two literary journalists and minor poets, near his own age and in comparable circumstances, whom it may be worth our while to discuss. They were John H. Hewitt and Lambert A. Wilmer.

Hewitt's career was in some respects not greatly unlike Poe's. The son of a professional musician in New York City, he was given a common school education and was apprenticed to a sign-painter. From this uncongenial trade he ran away. After reconciliation with his family he was entered in the military academy at West Point, where he received special instruction from the bandmaster. Upon completing the course he resigned without graduating and went south as a member of a theatrical company organized by his father. When the venture failed at Augusta, Georgia, Hewitt remained in that city as a teacher of music. He also studied law and established a newspaper which long survived his interest in it.

Of Hewitt's romantic experiences in the South I can recount a few from memory, for which I cannot cite published authority, for I was permitted some years ago to read an autobiography which Hewitt left in manuscript and which has not been pub-

lished. The circumstances were these. Hewitt, who was born in 1801, was twice married. His first wife died in 1863. His second wife, a Miss Smith of Savannah, Georgia, was eighteen when she married him. Hewitt died in October, 1890, and Mrs. Hewitt survived him nearly forty years. I met her a few years ago and, of course, inquired eagerly for records of her husband's early years in Baltimore, hoping to uncover some new information about Poe. Mrs. Hewitt, who was then over eighty, startled me by asserting that her husband had met Poe in Baltimore in 1849 just before his death. That *would* have been news; and when after some reluctance she put a typed copy of the unpublished autobiography into my hands, I read it with as earnest attention as I have ever given any document in my life. I soon found that she had confused the time of an earlier meeting of Hewitt with Poe in Washington, which Hewitt had described elsewhere in print, and which he followed in the manuscript account by the remark, "I never saw him alive again."

Though I found nothing new as to Poe, I did find Hewitt's account of his own life entertaining reading. There was, for example, his account of a rival's attempt to discredit him with the family of the girl to whom they were both devoted by asserting that Hewitt had inherited a taint of Negro blood. I should have supposed that such a charge in that time and place would have meant immediate bloodshed. By his own account, however, Hewitt controlled his feelings until he could write to his mother and demand assurances as to the purity of his ancestry. When he received her letter asserting that the charge was false, he laid it before the detractor, pointed a pistol at his head, and required and received instant and full apology.

There was another occasion when he was riding with a young lady and they were overtaken by a storm so severe that they were forced to seek refuge with their horses in a deserted barn. They were detained in that compromising situation all night, first by the storm and then by bears, which scented the horses and tried to get at them. What with preventing the bears from getting in, controlling the frightened horses, and reassuring the lady, Hewitt had a sufficiently trying time, which was not improved

when the searching party found them in the morning and the irate parent was at first inclined to put a wrong construction on the experience.

Hewitt came to Baltimore to live in 1828 and became joint-editor with Rufus Dawes of *The Baltimore Minerva and Emerald*, established in that year. In July, 1830, this journal became *The Minerva and Saturday Post* and was edited by Hewitt alone. In February, 1832, Mr. Cloud established *The Baltimore Saturday Visitor*, with Wilmer as literary editor. Editor and proprietor quarreled and Wilmer was dismissed and Hewitt employed in his place. A lawsuit over Wilmer's contract followed and Wilmer won a substantial verdict.

Then the *Visitor* offered prizes for the best story and the best poem and Hewitt, though editor, competed under an assumed name. Poe was awarded the story prize of \$50 for his *Ms. Found in a Bottle* and Hewitt was given the poetry prize of \$25 for his poem *The Song of the Wind*. The judges were indiscreet enough to allow the impression to get out that they had been disposed to rank Poe's *Coliseum* first among the poems but did not wish to award both prizes to the same person. Poe felt that he was justly entitled to the honor of both awards and asked Hewitt to agree to waive his rank in the contest but keep the money prize. Of course he refused and Poe was displeased with him, the displeasure being heightened by the fact that Poe already blamed Hewitt for an unfavorable review of his book of poems in 1829.

The *Visitor* was sold in 1835 and Hewitt then conducted a daily paper. In 1838 he moved to Washington and again became a teacher of music. During the War he was for a time in Richmond making use of his West Point training by serving as a drill master. Then he went to Savannah, where he edited the *Evening Mirror*. He came back to Baltimore in the early seventies and lived here for the rest of his life, writing stories, ballads, and operas, and teaching music. He never forgave Poe for being a greater poet and was an entirely honest Philistine as to his judgment of Poe's verse.

Wilmer was something of an Ishmael, with his hand against

every man. He was born in Kent County, Maryland, in 1805. After his services as editor of the *Visitor* he went to Philadelphia, where he worked on various newspapers and was for a time editor of *Godey's Lady's Book*. He satirized American writers in one diatribe and his fellow journalists in another and wrote an English grammar and a life of De Soto. His comment on Poe after the poet's death was a loyal defence of his character and habits, telling of their long walks together in the country and implying an intimacy that must have had a significant influence in the development of Poe's mind.

This period which so teemed with ephemeral journals was also the time of the literary coterie. Addisonianism persisted long in America and exerted an influence so potent and so far-reaching that no student has adequately estimated it. An ambitious young scribbler always tried his hand at a series of Spectator essays and many groups of congenial intellectuals formed themselves into Spectator clubs. Washington Irving was a member of such a group—a jolly company who were known as the Ancient Club or the Nine Worthies, and sometimes, perhaps more appropriately, as the Kilkenny Lads. One of the literary products of their convivial gatherings was the light and graceful series known as the "Salmagundi Papers." About Joseph Dennie in Philadelphia there gathered another coterie known as the Tuesday Club, which included Charles Brockden Brown and William Dunlap, and which furthered the production of Dennie's periodical *The Portfolio*. The Connecticut Wits, who because they met in Hartford, are often spoken of as the Hartford Wits, were an even better known group of the same general type.

I mention these merely to indicate the character of the impulse, which was really a survival of the coffee-house group rather than a part of the tradition which gave us Phi Beta Kappa and the almost universal college literary and debating societies of which The Jefferson Society at the University of Virginia to which Poe himself belonged is a distinguished survivor. What I am really interested in is such coteries in Maryland.

The oldest of these that I know anything about is the Tuesday Club of Annapolis, which flourished from 1745 to 1755, a time when Annapolis was a much more important city than Baltimore. This club was founded by a witty and learned physician of Scotch birth and training, Dr. Alexander Hamilton, who served as its secretary. Its members were chiefly doctors, lawyers, and clergymen; and their literary activities seem to have centered around Hamilton and the colonial printer Jonas Green. Dr. Hamilton not only kept minutes of the meetings but also amused himself by writing an elaborate mock-heroic history of the Club which has come down to us in manuscript. The most important of these manuscript records are in the Library of the Johns Hopkins University, in bound quartos illustrated by crude wash-drawings and sketches.

The Tuesday Club met in the homes of the members in rotation for a simple meal and comforting drink, being particularly partial to lemon punch. They were alluded to in the minutes by pseudonyms or clubicular names, as they called them, such as Loquacious Scribble, Jonathan Grog, and Protomusicus Solo Neverout, and they were fond of puns, satirical verse, and anniversary odes. One of their whims was to speak of their society as "This here ancient and honorable club." The Tuesday Club went out of existence in 1755 upon the death of Dr. Hamilton.

All this happened, of course, three quarters of a century before Poe's so-called mysterious years in Baltimore; but it points the way to a tradition that survived to Poe's day, for in the first third of the nineteenth century there was a surprisingly similar coterie in Baltimore. The Baltimore group was known as the Delphian Club. It had nine members, one for each of the muses. They met for supper in the homes and offices of the members, who were known by fantastic pseudonyms, such as Solomon Fitz-Quizz and Jehu O'Cataract. They were fond of puns, debates, satirical verse, and anniversary odes and were accustomed to refer to their own society as "This here club!" Their secretary, Dr. Readel, wrote elaborate minutes, illustrated with sketches, and recast them in a second edition. Dr. Readel's

records of the Delphian Club are in the library of the Maryland Historical Society.

Like the Tuesday Club, the Delphians were chiefly young professional men. They included among others John Pierpont and John Neal both of whom had some repute as poets, and Paul Allen, editor of the *Federal Republican* and Tobias Watkins, editor of the *Portico*; and it was a rule of the club that all should contribute to the *Portico*, and that their literary work should be preserved in the secretary's records.

The Delphians were organized in 1816 and their formal minutes cease in 1825; but there are allusions that seem to imply that meetings were held after that date, many of them in the home of William Gwynn, a classical structure known as the Tusculum, on a small lane now in the heart of the business section of Baltimore. With Gwynn, Poe was certainly acquainted for he had applied to him for a position early in the Baltimore years; and Gwynn had years before studied law in the same office as David Poe.

How much Poe knew about these two Maryland coteries it is impossible to say. So many details of Poe's biography have been predicated solely on probability that I am reluctant to add a straw's weight to the total; but it is obvious that he might easily have had some acquaintance with both. To the *History of the Tuesday Club* there are prefixed letters that show that the manuscripts were twice deposited for safe-keeping in the Baltimore Library, once in 1809 and again in 1824. They must have been withdrawn later, for they were presented to the Johns Hopkins Library by Judge Dobbin in the early nineties. It seems more than probable that they were in the care of the Baltimore Library Company in the years that Poe spent in Baltimore. That Poe had access to the Library I cannot prove. There are traditions that he was able to use it and that he did use it industriously; it is hard to believe that he would not somehow have contrived to secure a membership, since non-members could join for six dollars a year.

Where the Delphian Club records were I do not know, for they do not emerge into library history until 1920 when they

were presented to the Maryland Historical Society by descendants of Dr. Readel. But at least one man whom Poe knew personally, William Gwynn, had belonged to the Delphian Club and some of the activities of the club must have been common knowledge. There is, for example, evidence that the Delphians were attacked in the press as an infidel society and that they made a spirited reply.

However he came by the knowledge, Poe knew of such coteries, for the major literary effort of his mysterious years was the creation of his own imaginary Spectator group, which he called The Folio Club, and for which he wrote sixteen tales. Six of these, bearing the title *Tales of the Folio Club*, were included in the excessively neat manuscript which he submitted for the *Visitor's* prize. Others had already been printed separately in a Philadelphia newspaper. Poe was unsuccessful in his attempt to have the collection published as a book and the introduction which he wrote for the purpose remained in manuscript until after his death.

Now it is clear, though not obvious at first glance, that Poe intended the *Tales of the Folio Club* as a satire both upon literary coteries and upon various prevailing types of magazine fiction. His travesty is so accurate that the suspicion grows that the Delphians persisted long enough for Poe to know a good deal about them, and that he had them, as well as other similar clubs, in mind as he wrote. In their preamble the Delphians declare their association to exist "for the laudable gratification of their fondness for literary and scientific pursuits . . . and to improve their minds as well as to amuse their leisure hours by the mutual interchange of opinions and sentiments." A fine was imposed upon a member who should introduce any "joke or jest, *bon mot* or witticism which had been seen in print by more than one of the members or heard before by a majority of them."

Poe represents the members of his Folio Club as using fantastic pseudonyms or club names, such as the Honorable Augustus Scratchaway, Solomon Seadrift, and Mr. Snaps, the president "a very lank man with a hawk nose, . . . formerly

in the service of the Down East Review." One wonders if he could mean John Neal! A clause in their constitution forbade the members to be otherwise than erudite and witty and the avowed objects of the confederacy were "the instruction of society and the amusement of themselves." They met monthly at the home of some member and each was expected to come prepared with a short prose tale of his own composition to be read after dinner. The number of the Folio Club was limited to eleven because in a certain year before the Deluge there were eleven spots on the sun; and the meeting which Poe describes was held on a Tuesday.

Whether Poe travestied the Delphians, or their early prototypes, the members of the Annapolis Tuesday Club, or merely the general tradition, it is into the literary atmosphere represented by such clubs that he came when he made Baltimore his home, and some of the Delphians he was destined to know personally. The four and a half years that constituted his apprenticeship, though full of uncertainty and hope deferred, with doubtless some real hardship, must have had elements of happiness that were lacking later, when his burdens and anxieties were greater and his health steadily worse. In those years he had for the first time in his life since babyhood a home in which there was unmixed affection, and in that humble home he had that richest of graces the consciousness of genius growing into the maturity of its powers.

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#### SOME RECENTLY-FOUND POEMS ON THE CALVERTS.

By WALTER B. NORRIS.

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A thin scrapbook in the library of the United States Naval Academy has recently been found to contain unpublished poems, written by Richard Lewis and other Marylanders in the period between 1720 and 1740, and a copy of the *Maryland Gazette* for March 8-15, 1734, which seems to be the only one which has

survived. The volume is described within it as "Purchased in 1849 from Miss Eliza Maynadier from the Library of the late Col. Maynadier of Annapolis."

The contents, each manuscript poem in a different hand, are as follows:

- (1) A poem by Richard Lewis, dated Annapolis, May 10, 1732, addressed to John Ross, Esq., Clerk of the Council, and consoling him for the departure of Governor Benedict Leonard Calvert.
- (2) A poem by Richard Lewis in memory of Governor Benedict Leonard Calvert, who died June 1, 1732.
- (3) A poem, author not indicated, in memory of Governor Benedict Leonard Calvert.
- (4) First sheet, two pages, of the *Maryland Gazette*, "From Friday, March 8, to Friday, March 15, 1734. Number LX." This is entirely devoted to printing an elegy on the death of Governor Charles Calvert, who died February 2, 1734. No author is indicated.
- (5) Three letters of Eleanor, Queen of England, to the Pope asking his assistance in securing the release of her son, Richard, King of England, translated into English verse by an author not indicated.
- (6) A poem "To the Queen," in the same handwriting as No. 5 but referring apparently to the reigning Queen. No author is indicated.

#### THE SUBJECTS

John Ross, to whom the first poem is addressed, was Clerk of the Council and later Register of the Land Office. He built "Belvoir" on the Severn. His granddaughter, Elizabeth Ross Key, married Col. Henry Maynadier, who was later owner of "Belvoir." In St. Anne's Cemetery, Annapolis, are the graves of Col. Henry Maynadier, died 1849, aged 91 years, Elizabeth Maynadier, wife of Col. H. Maynadier, and of Eliza Maynadier, born 1786, died 1852. Francis Scott Key was a great grandson of John Ross.

Edmond Jenings, to whom Lewis's second poem is inscribed, was a member of Lincoln's Inn, a distinguished lawyer, and the Secretary of the Province. He erected the house which later housed the Governors from Horatio Sharpe down to 1866.

For convenience the facts about Benedict Leonard Calvert may be summarized. Born September 20, 1700, he was the second son of Benedict Leonard Calvert, 4th Lord Baltimore. According to William Hearn,<sup>1</sup> a fellow student at Christ Church College, Oxford, he was interested in "curiosities," and travelled to Rome, and on leaving for Maryland in 1727 had a presentiment that he would never return. Hearn says that Calvert wrote him a long letter from Annapolis, dated March 18, 1728/9, in which he gave several particulars relating to the Island (sic), and sent him a copy of Lewis's *Muscipula*. He even planned to write a description and history of Maryland. The date of his death is given by Hearn as June 1, 1732. In his will he bequeathed one-third of his estate to King William's School.

Calvert's scholarly and artistic interests, so much emphasized in the poems, may be partly the cause which made the years of his administration, and the years immediately following, a period of surprising literary activity in Maryland. The *Maryland Gazette* was established by William Parks and showed its literary character by Latin quotations at the mast-head of the early editions. Cooke's *Sotweed Factor* appeared in several editions, Lewis published his *Muscipula*, *Carmen Seculare*, and *Rhapsody*, and other poetry and numerous essays appeared in the *Gazette*.

The Governor Charles Calvert, whose elegy is also contained in the collection, is that mysterious individual whose abilities were unquestioned but whose origin is so obscure. In his letter of commission as Governor in 1720 he is called a cousin of the Proprietary, the 5th Lord Baltimore. We also know that on Nov. 27, 1709, Charles Calvert was commissioned as an

<sup>1</sup> "Diary of William Hearn, Aug. 7, 1732," in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XVI, 386.

ensign in the First Regiment of Foot, or Grenadier Guards, and that on Jan. 18, 1718, he was promoted to lieutenant and captain.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Maryland Archives*, XXXIV, Preface.

After Calvert ceased to be Governor in 1727, he still remained a member of the Council till into 1733, when his name disappears from the list of those present at the meetings.

Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine, whose letters in Latin to the Pope in behalf of her son Richard Coeur de Lion while he was imprisoned by the German Emperor are translated into English verse, was a woman with a colorful career and a personality vigorous enough to make her strong language to the Pontiff seem authentic. The Latin letters appeared in 1704 in the first volume of that monumental historical collection of the historiographer royal, Sir Thomas Rymer.<sup>3</sup>

The final poem in the collection is a short poem addressed "To the Queen." The letters to Eleanor are referred to, but the Queen is the reigning queen, Charlotte, wife of George II. In the line

You lose a daughter but you gain a son,

allusion is probably made to the marriage of her daughter Anne to William, Prince of Orange, in 1734. Other daughters were married in 1740 and 1743.

The *Maryland Gazette* for March 4, 1729, reports that the birthday of the Queen was celebrated in Annapolis by a dinner given by Governor Benedict Leonard Calvert and by a ball in the State House.

#### THE AUTHORS

Richard Lewis, the author of the first two poems, is described by Benedict Leonard Calvert in a letter to William Hearn in 1729 as "a schoolmaster here who formerly belonged to Eaton, a man really of ingenuity, and to my judgment well versed in poetry." Lewis was apparently in Maryland as early as Oct.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Thomas Rymer: *Foedera*, Tome I, p. 72.

22, 1725<sup>4</sup> and remained at least as late as 1732. In his list of subscribers to the *Muscipula*, he credits Benedict Leonard Calvert with having taken 10 copies, John Ross 2, Charles Calvert 4, Daniel Dulany 3, and Nicholas Lowe 2. In a short poem Lewis dedicates the Annapolis edition to Benedict Leonard Calvert; the London edition was dedicated to Robert Lloyd.

As a poet, Lewis is probably best in his description of nature, as in *A Rhapsody*; several lines in the poem to Ross show genuine poetic feeling, albeit conventionally expressed. Such are

May the strong ship in safety plow the main  
And may my patron his lost health regain,  
To cheer his heart may balmy breezes sweep  
Salubrious vapors from the smiling deep  
That when the seamen hail fair Albion's land  
And Calvert's foot salutes the welcome strand  
His noble brother may behold his face  
Adorn'd with every native blooming grace.

His poem to Calvert's memory, though valuable for its details of Calvert's life and personality, is an uninspired production.

The second poem to the memory of Benedict Leonard Calvert is much more vigorous in style than Lewis's. The impact of the final rhyme in the couplet is more emphatic, and the attitude of the poet much more realistic, as evidenced by his picture of Calvert's final resting place in the ocean depths,

Where scaly monsters of amphibious breed  
And fish of prey on defunct bodies feed.

His references are generally to the Governor's public acts rather than to his private life with which Lewis deals so fully. The best lines of the poem are somewhat plagiarized from *A Dirge* by James Shirley, where they read,

Only the actions of the just  
Smell sweet and blossom in the dust.

<sup>4</sup>L. C. Wroth, *A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland*, p. 48.

A suggested author for the poem is Ebenezer Cooke, who since he signed himself "Lauriat" to "*An Elegy on the Death of the Honourable Nicholas Lowe, Esq.*, in 1728, would perhaps feel called upon for a poem on Calvert. He is also known for his *Elegy on the Death of the Honourable William Lock, Esq.*, in 1732, in which he writes of the Muses,

since they  
To Calvert's ghost did their devotions pay.<sup>5</sup>

an allusion, it may be, to this poem as his own work or to the general outpouring of poetry produced by Calvert's death.

As to the next poem, the long elegy on the death of Charles Calvert in 1734, there is also no indication of authorship. The copy of the *Maryland Gazette* has a prefatory note signed "Your Humble Servant," but where the name should be is found a black band, which may conceal the author's name or merely be a mark of mourning. As elegiac poetry the poem ranks far above the other verses in the scrap book, and deserves the greater circulation which print doubtless gave. The author has greater resources of poetical language and possesses greater imagination. His "Genius of the Country" weeping for Calvert, his address to the physicians, his philosophizing on death, his description of Maryland under Calvert's administration, his consolation of the widow, and especially his evocation of an angel to address the Genius of Maryland, set the poem above all the others for largeness of conception and dignity of thought. Witness lines such as the following:

See where the glories of his deathless name,  
In war's triumphant field our wonder claim:  
His deeds in arms let glad Britannia tell,  
And speak, ye foes, who by his prowess fell,

<sup>5</sup> Printed in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XIV, p. 172. See also for the fullest treatment of Cooke, L. C. Wroth, *The Maryland Muse, by Ebenezer Cooke*, Introduction and Facsimile, in Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society, October 1934.

Let England's sons with loud applause express,  
And grateful Marlborough's worthy shade confess,  
If Calvert had not fought, his triumphs had been less.

But grateful thanks to courteous heaven bestow  
That Calvert reigns above, and Ogle rules below.

But when the brightness of their blooming charms  
Shall bless some future worthy's longing arms,  
In them their mother's virtues shall inspire  
A merit equal to their Father's fire.

It may be that we have in this poem the only evidence of the work of a Maryland provincial who is entitled to a prominent place in the list of American colonial poets.

As to the metrical translations of Queen Eleanor's letters and the short poem to Queen Charlotte, little need be said, for they are dreary and lacking in any real poetical fire. They are easily the poorest of the poetry in this collection. For that reason only a short excerpt has been printed.

#### THE POEMS

##### To JOHN Ross Esq<sup>r</sup> Clerk of the Council

To Gratitude this mournful verse is due  
Calvert inspires the Lay inscribed to you;  
To you oh Ross, whose Sympathising breast  
Is now as mine with fear & hope possest

While from my bow'r the vessel I survey  
That waits to bear our Patron o'er the sea  
I fear his danger on the rolling Main  
The fancy'd danger gives me real pain.

Ev'n now, methinks, impatient of Delay  
The cheerful Sailors the huge Anchor weigh  
Loud shouting now, they seem to unfurl their Sails  
Expansive to the favourable Gales

And now the vessel less'ning leaves my View  
On Fancy's wing the vessel I pursue  
Guided, oh Watts by thy directing mind  
Swift sailing, soon she leaves the land behind

Now o'er the fathomless Abyss she flies  
 Whose waves by warring winds provok'd arise }  
 And restless bears her bounding to the Skies  
 Now sinking Sudden from the horrid height  
 Borne to the Bottom she is snatch'd from sight  
 Then Joyfull Hope condemns the fearfull thought }  
 With black dispair & frantick sorrow fraught  
 Which in my mind such racking Anguish wrought }  
 Shews me the sun with golden glory bright  
 And with an Azure Skie revives my Sight  
 The Softest gales that glad the gentle May . . . }  
 Bear the Good Ship smooth sailing on its way }  
 While variegated Dolphins round her play  
 Propitious Fate the voyage greatly bless  
 Oh let my Hope obtain this wish'd Success  
 May the Strong Ship in Safety plow the Main  
 And may my Patron his lost Health regain,  
 To cheer his heart may balmy breezes sweep  
 Salubrious vapours from the Smiling Deep  
 That when the Seamen hail fair Albion's Land  
 And Calvert's foot salutes the welcome Strand  
 His Noble Brother may behold his Face  
 Adorn'd with every Native blooming Grace  
 Which in his Cheek did sprightly Health display  
 When he to visit us persu'd his way.  
 If such good News some letter shall relate  
 To festive Joy the day I'll dedicate  
 And till these gladsome tydings greet my Ear  
 My mind must fluctuate Twixt hope and fear  
 Oft shall I recollect each cheerful Night  
 By Calvert's converse crown'd, with sweet delight  
 When he forgetful of his State would deign  
 Humane, your Humble Friend to entertain  
 Our Senators by their renewed Address  
 His Skill in gentle Government confess  
 His Speeches will with Eloquence declare  
 How much our Countrys Weal employ'd his Care  
 His Wisdom Shown in Council, Let thy page  
 Oh Ross, declare to the enquiring Age  
 For me unskill'd in Themes like these sublime  
 The utmost hymn of my unequal rhyme  
 Was my Accomplishd Patron to Display  
 Unbent from cares of State,—with Prudence gay

His mind with Learning's choicest Stores imbu'd  
 Polish'd by Travel,—gen'rous, just, and good  
 Dear to his Friends—To his Domesticks kind  
 To pardon Human Frailty still inclined

But now these Subjects far exceed my Art  
 While thoughts of his Departure tear my heart  
 Some future happier verse these truths shall tell  
 Safe may our Patron Sail!'

Dear Sr

Farewell

Annapolis May 10: 1732

VERSES

TO THE MEMORY OF HIS EXCLLY BENEDICT LEONARD CALVERT;

Late Governour  
 of the Province of Maryland  
 who died at Sea, June 1732.

Humbly Inscribed

To the Honble Edmond Jenings Esq.  
 Secretary of the P. Province

Illud plane non triste dolum, verum etiam luctuosum, quod  
 decepsit, dum ex praefectura redit, Decessit autem in Navi,  
 procul a Fratre amantissimo, procul a Sororibus, Nihil ista ad  
 Mortuum pertinent; sed pertinuerunt cum moreretur; per-  
 tinent ad hos qui supersunt, Jam quidem in flore primo Iunevis  
 tantae indolis extinctus est, summa consecuturus si virtutis eius  
 maturuissent. Quo ille Studiorum amore flagrabat! Quantum  
 legit! Quo nunc omnia cum ipso sine fructu posteritatis  
 abierunt.

Plin. Iuv. in Epist. Saturnino.\*

\* Adapted from Pliny the Younger's letter to Pompeius Saturninus (Letters, v, 21), which reads in the Loeb Library translation: "But what you add concerning Avitus, that he died in his return from the province where he had been Quaestor, is news, not only sad, but deplorable. That he died on board ship, at a distance from his fondly attached brother, and from his mother and sisters, are circumstances which though they cannot affect him now he is no more, yet undoubtedly did so in his last

Sr.

I did not hope my Numbers could Suspend  
 The Tears, that Flow'd for your Departed Friend;  
 For this the Debt which now is Humbly Paid,  
 To Benedict's Dear name hath been Delay'd,  
 Till sad Necessity our Seeming Foe,  
 Had Shown the Ineffectual Force of Woe;  
 Till freed from Grief, you calmly might peruse  
 The Lay, Inspir'd by my Lamenting Muse.  
 Tho' well I know that my unpolish'd Verse  
 Is much to mean his Virtues to Rehearse,  
 Yet 'tis unfit that Calvert good and great,  
 Who Shone with Lustre in his Life's Short State,  
 Should to the King of Terror yeild his Breath;  
 And Sleep, unsung, in the Vast Cave of Death.

From dawning Life I might his Story Trace,  
 And give him Fame from his Illustrious Race;  
 But let the Herald thence his Honour raise,  
 His proper Merit Claims the Poets praise,  
 When from the Schools in early Youth, he came  
 To those fair Domes, near Isis' Sacred Stream,  
 Where Learning sits Sublime, in Solemn State,  
 And round the Throne ennobled Sages Wait;  
 Among those Sages Benedict appear'd,  
 And to their Queen his earnest Pray'r pferr'd;  
 That She with Libr'l Arts would grace his Mind  
 And form his Soul by Science most refin'd.

Well pleased with what her Votary requir'd,  
 That He might gain the Knowledge he Desir'd,  
 She blest the Youth with prudence to Explore  
 The Mines, Containing her most Valu'd Oar }  
 And He from them acquir'd a Noble Store.

He knows those Rules that Teach the Thinking Art  
 And how Mechanic Powers their Force exert.

moments, and still affect those he has left behind. It adds poignancy to our grief that a young man of his shining talents should be cut off in his early prime, and snatched from those high honors to which his virtues, had they been permitted to grow to their full maturity, would certainly have raised him. How did his bosom glow with the love of learning! How many books did he peruse! nay, how many did he compose! But his labors are now perished with him, and for ever lost to posterity." It will be seen how this passage has been adapted to the facts about Calvert.

The Elegance of Verse his Taste Refin'd,  
Morals and History, their Treasure joyn'd }  
With true Philosophy, t'enrich his Mind }  
Theology employ'd his Deepest Thought,  
Its Sacred Verities He Strictly Sought.

When thus He had adorn'd his nat'r'l Parts  
With Choicest Flow'rs of Academic Arts;  
That Travel might the Gentleman Compleat,  
To Study Men He left the Muses Seat,  
Resolv'd to View the far fam'd Latian Shores,  
Where Gray Antiquity displays her Stores.

But e'er He Visited a foreign Soil,  
From Nice Inquiries in his Native Isle  
He learn't her Works of Nature, and of Art,  
And Could to Strangers all her Charms Impart.

Records and Charters old with Painful View }  
Examin'd, He from them such Secrets Drew }  
As none but Ablest Antiquarians knew.  
Of those, assisted by the Gravers Care  
With Cost He purchased many a Transcript Rare,  
Whose Characters to Curious Eyes might tell,  
What Vast Donations, were by Royal Seal,  
In England to Religious Uses given,  
Thus to Avert th'empending Wrath of Heaven.

This Wealth which Travellers too much neglect,  
In Italy Procured Him high Respect,  
Where' ere He went with Love of Science Warmed  
The Literati by his Converse Charmed,  
With Pleasure Taught the Stranger what they Knew  
And open'd their Musea to his View,  
Nor travell'd He to please alone his Sight,  
To improve his Mind was his Supreme Delight,  
He knew the Polity of every State  
Thro' which He past, the Arts which made them Great,  
Or took their once Exalted Power away,  
And sunk them in their present sad Decay.  
With a Sagacious Prospect, He surveyed,  
Those Cities, that have lost, or gain'd, a Trade,  
From Liberty he found their Blessings flow,  
And Slavery occasion'd all their Woe.  
He saw and Shudder'd at the Mournful View,  
How false Religion Triumph'd o'er the True,  
Instruct'd hence, to prize his Native Isle,

Where Liberty, on all Bestows her smile;  
 Where Commerce joyns Mankind in Social Bands  
 Where poorest Swains Securely till their Lands }  
 And none Dare Snatch the Harvest from their Hands,  
 Where Conscience Scorns an Inquisition's Chaines,  
 And Piety o'er Superstition Reigns.

To taste her Sweets, which gave his Soul Delight  
 Furnish'd with Knowledge, useful and polite;  
 Home He Returned. . . . But soon pursued his Way  
 By his Dear Brother Sent that Realm to Sway  
 Planted with People by his Grandsire's Hand,  
 Obedient all to Baltimore's Command.

And He who knew the justest Arts of Rule,  
 Train'd in the World's most experienc'd School;  
 With Care, the Evil He had seen, Eschew'd,  
 And wisely Strove to Cultivate the Good.  
 His Government no cruel Actions Stain'd,  
 The Injur'd not without Redress Complain'd,  
 Benevolence inspir'd his Tender Heart,  
 With Charitable Hand his Wealth t'impert;  
 To those whom Want oppress'd his Dole was Given,  
 Diffusive, Silent as the Dew of Heaven.

To punish Vice, t'assert fair Virtues Cause,  
 T'enforce a due Obedience to the Laws;  
 T'advance our Trade, Employ'd his Daily Thought  
 By various ways our Happiness He Sought.

But why do I presume in Humble Verse  
 His Actions, as a Ruler, to Rehearse ?  
 Let History to those Extend her Care,  
 While I his Mild Domestic Life Declare.  
 There I behold him in the Sweetest Lights,  
 And every Glance a pleasing pain Excites;  
 Pleas'd I Recall those Joys which He inspir'd,  
 Griev'd I bewail Him dead, whom I admir'd.

Can I forget those Hours, when as a Friend  
 To Entertain me He would Condescend ?  
 Charm'd with the instructive accents of his Tongue,  
 On all He said my Thought regardful hung.  
 When he of Social Virtues would discourse,  
 And Recommend it with engaging Force,  
 He could her Charms divine so well Disclose,  
 As might have conquer'd her Obdurate Foes.

Nor could I but with Infinite Surprize

Regard a Man in early Life so Wise;  
 To read in Choicest Works of Antient Wit  
 And what the best of Modern pens have writ,  
 Yet Nicely bred, and from all Symptoms free  
 Of that Scholastic Sickness Pedantry.

When Gaily dress'd, to Grace the Publick Ball,  
 He to soft Music mov'd around the Hall;  
 His Artfull Step, his Unaffected Air,  
 His Easy Grandeur, Charm'd the Circling Fair;  
 Each Dancer his Superior Skill Confess'd,  
 And Pleasure Glow'd in each Spectator's Breast.

But I with Him the Highest Joys have known,  
 When I have seen him in his Home, alone;  
 Then, his Description set before mine Eye  
 What e're was Beautiful in Italy.

I view'd each fam'd Antiquity in Rome  
 I gaz'd with Transport on St. Peter's Dome;  
 Next I the Place Superb admir'd,  
 Whose Paintings Seem'd with living Warmth inspir'd  
 Thro Gardens, Grottos, Labyrinths, I rove,  
 And meet Poetick Shades in every Grove,  
 I search'd the Vatican, whose Walls Contain  
 The never dying offspring of the Brain;  
 In Mental Vision, Eager I Peruse,  
 The Written Labours of the Mantuan Muse;  
 And trace their Antique Draughts, almost Obscure  
 But which in Calverts \* Prints shall still Endure  
 Those Prints, whose Curious Lines have Taught me more  
 Than Virgil's Commentators could before,  
 I Walked great Cosmo's Gallery, Where Art      }  
 In Statues shows the Passions of the Heart,  
 And † Venus throws from every Limb a Dart.      }

\* The Vatican MS. of Virgil which is of great Antiquity had its Margins etc adorn'd with many Drawings representing the History of the Poem. These were Copied by an Eminent Graver, at the expence of Cardinal ..... and only 3 Lots of them printed off. The Drawings in the MS. are almost worn out by Time most of the Plates have been destroy'd, and those Prints of Mr. Calverts (in which are Seen the Habits and Architecture of the Romans, delineated from antique Statues and Edifices now gone to Ruin; and which seem to Explain many Difficulties in Virgil, and other Classicks) may be look'd on as very valuable Originals.

† Venus of Medicis, the famous Statue made by Praxiteles.

Where on the Medals everlasting Page,  
 Exist Triumphant over Times fierce Rage,  
 The Men, who Grac'd the Worlds most Noble Age. }  
 If I had Travell'd, I should scarce discern,  
 More than my Ears from Benedict might Learn.

When at his Table, round the Social Bowl,  
 His Friends, Delighted with his Flow of Soul  
 Have Sate;—how would his Mirth their Bosoms warm?—  
 How would his Tunefull Notes the Hearers Charm?  
 Sure no Man better knew the Arts to Please,  
 No Man behav'd with more becoming Ease;  
 Good Breedings, Gallantry, and Humour Gay, }  
 When He Discours'd would round his Table Play; }  
 And Gloomy Care was Banish'd far away.  
 Yet Still from Carelessness his Deed was free,  
 His Thoughtful Brow Display'd Serenity;  
 Humility, not Meanness, was his Guide,  
 And Greatness fill'd his Breast, Excluding Pride.

Forgive me Jening's that I offer you  
 His Character, whom you Exactly knew;  
 He would to you his inmost Thought Impart,  
 You could Survey the Springs that Moved his Heart.  
 His Piety to Him who Reigns above,  
 To Humankind his Universal Love,  
 His Sentiments, by Justest Rules Refin'd,  
 His Meek, his Modest, amiable Mind,  
 Your Intimacy gave you to Discern,  
 which I, at best, Imperfectly, Could Learn.

Now I behold him in the Sorrowing Throng,  
 Thro' which, his Chariot Slowly mov'd along,  
 To bear him to the Ship, Whence never more,  
 Shall He Descend, alive, to Touch the Shore.

How Chang'd, alas! from whom I once had known! }  
 In him long-lingered Disease has Shown,  
 Her Wastefull Rays, and Mark'd him for her own. }  
 Her Pallid Shrowd', o'erspread his Hollow Cheek;  
 And Death had only left him Pow'r to Speak.

The Chariot then seem'd Dismal as his Hearse,  
 'Twas then, Despairing, I accus'd \* the Verse  
 In which, my Hope had Fancy'd He once more

\* Verses, To Mr. Ross, on Mr. Calvert's Departure from Maryland May 10th 1732.

Should see his Brother, on fair Albion's Shore.

No more was He to See his Native Place,  
No more to feel great Baltimore's Embrace;  
In one Short Month his Soul Ascends the Skies,  
Deep in the Sea's Vast Vault his Body lies.

Thus to the Ocean Wave the Solar Ray,  
Descending bears from us from the Cheerful Day,  
Yet then by Power from the Almighty given  
He gilds with New born Beams the Eastern Heaven.

So Benedict Superior now to Pain,  
With Lustre Shines amid thetherial Plain.

What tho' no Tomb inscrib'd with his Dear Name  
Delivers down to Distant Time his Fame,  
His Benefaction on the School bestow'd,  
By which his Love to Maryland He Show'd  
Shall Living Monuments for ever raise,  
Who shall in various Tongues Proclaim his Praise.

From Lust of Fame if his Donation Flow'd  
It had on his own Oxford been bestow'd,  
For which her Sons his Praises would Rehearse }  
In Terse Orations; and in Charming Verse,  
While Time Revolv'd the Donor's Anniverse,  
But fond of doing Good, nor heeding Fame,  
He sought not to perpetuate his Name.

Yet if Prophetick Truth my breast inspire,  
Some Greatfull Youth warm with Poetic Fire,  
Thy School Annapolis in Time shall Raise;  
Justly to Sing her Benefactors Praise,  
Thy Funds were Sunk, thy School had soon Decay'd  
Unless Supported by his Bounteous Aid.

Let that Blest Bard to Maryland Declare  
That to inform her Sons was Calverts Care  
Had Heaven Restor'd him to his Native Land  
If there his wonted Health He had Regain'd  
The Gift He gave was small, to what his Mind,  
Had to Advance good Literature design'd,  
His Pow'rfull Entreaties would have mov'd;  
His Noble Friends who useful Learning Lov'd,  
To Build a College, where our Youth might find, }  
Instruction, to Adorn each Studious Mind; } endow  
And for their Use, his Books were all Design'd.

But Sir, till such a Genius shall arise,  
Oh let not Calverts Friend my Muse Despise;

Who Shows these Flow'rs, Devoted to his Shade,  
 Cherished by you, their Beauties will not Fade;  
 Till a more Greatfull Garland may be made.

I am  
 Sr.

Your most Obedient  
 Humble Servant

Richd. Lewis.

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#### A POEM

In Memory of the Hon<sup>ble</sup> BENEDICT LEONARD CALVERT Esq<sup>R</sup>  
 Lieutenant Governor in the Province of Maryland who died  
 at Sea on Board the Charles Cap<sup>t</sup> Dan<sup>l</sup> Watts Commander on  
 Return to Great Britain

*Memor esto brevio*

What mean these Tears, Is Benedictus fled  
 Gone to the watry Mansion of the Dead  
 Has he—  
 Who Cloath'd the Naked & the hungry fed  
 In Thetis Chrystal Bosom laid his Head  
 Where Scaly Monsters of Amphibious Breed  
 And Fish of Prey on defunct Bodies feed  
 Alas! It matters not, when once we die  
 As Sure all must Submitt to Destiny  
 Whether in Natures Chilly womb we Sleep  
 Or be Committed Prisoners to the Deep  
 So our Immoral Souls, mount to the blest  
 Where Benedict (I hope) is gone to rest  
 Whose Charity Speaks louder in his praise  
 Than all the Pane-gyriks thought can raise  
 Or Spencer (if alive) cou'd on him Sing  
 Who tasted of the Heleconian Spring  
 Such was his boundless Liberality  
 To those who Objects were of Charity  
 Tho' others oft did of his Alms dispose  
 Who he believ'd Scorn'd on him to impose  
 [Bu]t Choosing rather to be thought Rapacious  
 [T]han to appear in public Ostentatious

[W]hich gave Occasion to the lisening Crowd  
 [A]nd giddy Multitude, to talk too loud  
 [B]ut they who read his last Devise will find }  
 [H]e was no Miser, but possess'd a mind }  
 [A]bove the Common Levell of Mankind . . . }  
 In polite Learning, Eloquence & Wit }  
 He made him for his Lordships Service fit }  
 [I]n the Pretorian Chair as Chief to Sit . . . }  
 [T]here forty long revolving moons and more }  
 [S]ince Benedict first Landed on this Shore }  
 [ ] is, he Govern'd with a gentle hand }  
 [G]reat Britain's free born Subjects in this Land }  
 [B]ut tho' he Studyed more the real good }  
 [O]f Maryland, than some who Stiffly Stood }  
 [F]or Liberty—w<sup>ch</sup> Benedict neer Sought }  
 [T]o undermine, in Word, in Deed or thought }  
 Yet 'twas (to be misunderstood) his fate }  
 By those who Sat beneath the Helm of State. }  
 In Matters of the most Important Weight }  
 [W]hich made him when with publick Cares oppress'd }  
 Deny himself the needfull hour of rest }  
 To make the People easier, but in vain }  
 The more he Strove, the greater was the pain }  
 [W]hich to his worn out Constitution gave }  
 That Mortall wound, which Sunk him to the Grave, }  
 But as the Actions of the Good and Just }  
 Smell Sweet (when Dead) and blossom in the Dust, }  
 So his will from the Ocean always Cast }  
 A Fragrant Scent, & blossom to the last }  
 The Muse thus having Shown her utmost Skill }  
 In Poetry hopes Some more Lofty Quill }  
 to his Merit Justice, who by time }

[last line of manuscript defaced and illegible]

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THE  
MARYLAND GAZETTE

From Friday March 8, to Friday March 15, 1734. [Numb. LX.]

Mr. Parks,

Having been requested for a larger Number of Copies of the following Elegy than I am able to comply with; in Grati-

tude to my Good Benefactors, whose Respect to the Worthy CHARLES CALVERT, Esq; deceased has been expressed by their Generosity to the Author, I intreat the Favour it may be inserted in your News Paper; and at the same Time beg that those Gentlemen who have desired a particular Copy, would be pleased to accept this Publication, in Lieu thereof. I am,

Sir,

Your humble Servant.

An ELEGY on the much lamented Death of the Honourable CHARLES CALVERT, Esq; formerly Governour in Chief of the Province of Maryland; and at the Time of his Decease, Commissary-General, Judge of the Admiralty, Surveyor-General of the Western Shore, and President of the Council. Who departed this Life, February 2, 1733-4.

*Nascentes morimur, finisque ab Origine pendet.*

Beneath the baleful Yews unfruitful Shade,  
 Where no enliv'ning Beams the Gloom invade,  
 The Genius of the Country Mourning sat,  
 Repin'd at Heav'n, and blam'd the Will of Fate;  
 Her Hair untouched and Iv'ry Comb forbore,  
 And Dress employ'd her busy Thoughts no more;  
 The Spear and Shield aside neglected lay,  
 And Cornucopia's Harvest droop'd away:  
 Pale Brief had chas'd the Beauties from her Face,  
 Nipp'd all her Bloom, and rifled every Grace;  
 Excess of Sorrow, heighten'd by Despair,  
 Rent her sad Breast, a dire Intruder there.  
 Thrice she assay'd by Words to speak her Woes,  
 And Thrice reluctant Sorrows interpose,  
 At length, thro' Tears, unwillingly to obey,  
 Words, intermix'd with Sighs, thus forc'd their Way,  
 Unhappy me! Illustrious CALVERT's dead,  
 Irrevocably gon! She wept and said.  
 O say! what Ear can hear the fatal Sound,  
 And not in Floods of gen'rous Grief he drown'd?  
 What stony Breast receives the fatal News,  
 And yet a pious Sorrow dares refuse?  
 Ye Sons of Aescalapius boast no more  
 In Terms abstruse your Medicinal Pow'r,

Dire Tabes spreads her deadly Blasts around,  
And not a single Antidote is found,  
To check the Poison's Force, or heal the Mortal Wound. }  
To check the Poison's Force, or heal the Mortal Wound. }

Rapacious Death! could no inferior Prize,  
No meaner Life thy thirsty Race suffice?  
Could none but him thy Sacrifice be found,  
Thro' whom the Province feels a gen'ral Wound!  
Could neither Prudence turn thy Dart aside,  
Nor martial Courage thy Attacks abide?  
Could neither Justice awe thy fatal Hand,  
Nor Mercy sooth thy savage Mind to stand?  
Sure could one Virtue of the Heav'nly Train,  
Command thy insatiate Hunger to refrain,  
CALVERT, whose Soul united All possest,  
Had still alive these mourning Regions blest.

Learn hence ye Mortals, 'tis in vain to fly,  
In vain to plead, when Death approaches nigh;  
Beauty and Youth, and all Perfections join'd  
With fruitless Labour, strive his Pow'r to bind;  
Confide no more in all that's Good and Great,  
When even CALVERT's Self submits to Fate.

He's gone too soon to his Eternal Home,  
The bright Example of the Age to come:  
He's gone too soon, and with regret we find  
He scarce has left an Equal here behind.

See where the Glories of his deathless Name,  
In Wars triumphant Field our Wonder claim:  
His Deeds in Arms let glad BRITANNIA tell,  
And speak ye Foes who by his Prowess fell,  
Whene'er his Country's Cause unsheathe'd his Sword,  
And Aid like his, in sad Distress implor'd:  
What Trophy's were his matchless Valours due,  
What Towns were ta'en, what hostile Force he slew,  
Let England's Sons with loud Applause express,  
And grateful MARLBOROUGH's worthy Shade confess,  
If Calvert had not fought, His Triumphs had been less. }

Nor less, when Peace had call'd the Conqu'r'or home,  
Did Rules of Government his Care become;  
Alike well vers'd in Arts of Peace as War,  
The Wise PROPRIETOR's Paternal Care,  
Intreated his Assistance to withstand  
Th'impending Ruin of this sinking Land.

With Joy to serve the Province here he came,

Resigning Laurels of immortal Fame,  
Our sinking Trade and Country to retrieve,  
And grant Success, which he alone could give.

He, he alone, the secret Skill could find  
At once to govern and to please Mankind;  
To strike at once a Pleasure with an Awe,  
And give a Satisfaction with a Law,  
While ev'ry Subject yields with grateful Mind  
Obedience, rather courted than enjoin'd.

No Widows of Oppression did complain,  
No Orphans Tears implor'd Redress in vain,  
No proud Insultor trampled o'er the Laws,  
No Bribes could change the Justice of a Cause,  
No Strangers Cries unheeded reach'd his Ear,  
No humble Wretch prefer'd a fruitless Pray'r,  
No jarring Factions, murmur'ring Discontent,  
Disturb'd his well directed Government;  
But glad Submission, Happiness, and Peace,  
Smooth'd ev'ry Brow, and smil'd in ev'ry Face.

Secure beneath his kind protecting Shade,  
The Planter saw his honest Labour paid;  
Secure the Merchant plows the Watry Main,  
While wholesome Laws defend his well-got Gain;  
Secure the Artist gives his Rule the Praise,  
And dates his thriving Trade from CALVERT's Days;  
Secure Minerva's Infant glimm'ring Light,  
With rising Dawn disspell'd the Clouds of Night,  
Far driving barb'rous Ignorance away;  
And CALVERT's Morning usher'd in the Day.

Alike to private Life his Worth extends,  
The best of Husbands, Fathers, Masters, Friends:  
Untaught to close his ever open Door,  
Courted the Wealthy, and reliev'd the Poor;  
With plentiful Repast his Board supply'd,  
Inviting all, to none Access deny'd.  
His gen'rous Soul disdain'd to be confin'd,  
And knew no streighter Bounds than all Mankind.  
The Sick, the Needy, and the Pris'ners, fly  
To him, with firm Assurance of Supply:  
With charitable Eyes he view'd their Wants,  
And what their Mis'ry craves, his Goodness grants:  
But now the Gen'rous Patron lives no more;  
The Glory of this sad lamenting Shore.

No more his cheerful Presence glads our Eyes,  
But low in Death's Embrace interr'd he lies,  
He who so oft the Wretch condemn'd repriev'd,  
So oft th'Offenders destin'd Doom retriev'd.  
He who could give to Life a longer Date,  
And lengthen out the parting Thread of Fate,  
No kind Reprieve, no sparing Mercy finds,  
But his too short Life giving Breath resigns.

O mourning Relict of the best lov'd Land,  
The only Treasure that his Soul ador'd !  
O mourning Fair, what Tortures wreck your Breast !  
What piercing Sorrows rob your Soul of Rest !  
What moving Words your Anguish can express !  
What Language speak, and not describe it less !  
What but your Goodness, Virtue, tender Care,  
Your Love and Charms can equal your Despair.

Nor with inferior Grief will I bemoan,  
With Parent Throws my best departed Son,

CALVERT, thy Country's Darling, and her Boast,  
The shining Honour of our Western Coast ;  
Thou great Protector of thy Peoples Right,  
Alike their Admiration and Delight,  
What Tribute to thy Memory can be paid  
Worthy th'Acceptance of thy Honour'd Shade.

More did the Dictates of her troubled Heart  
Strife in Grief-easing Accents to impart,  
When Tides of Sorrow overwhelm'd her Breast,  
Opprest her Language, and forbad the rest.

While thus tormenting o'er her Soul  
Tyrannick Reign usurp'd without Controul,  
Swift on his flutt'ring Pinions thro' the sky,  
An Angel Form descended from on high ;  
His Air Majestick, and his Mien Divine,  
With Heav'nly Glory grac'd transcendent shine.  
His Rays th'immortal Messenger confest,  
Sent from above, who thus the Fair Addrest :

GENIUS of MARYLAND, immortal Fair,  
Why thus resign'd a Victim to Despair ;  
You who contain within your pregnant Womb  
Heroes unborn, and Empires yet to come,  
Arise ! thy Province claims thy Guardian Aid,  
Nor longer Heav'n's Divine Decrees upbraid :  
'Tis true, the Worthy's Mem'ry well might claim

A gen'ral Sorrow lasting as his Fame;  
But since the Great Creator has requir'd  
The same good Soul that he himself inspir'd;  
Since he who form'd the animated Clay  
Has deem'd it meet to take its Breath away,  
Let unavailing Grief be laid aside,  
And follow Resignation's better Guide,  
Your empty Pray'r's for his Return forsake;  
'Twere next to Sacrilege to wish him back.

Say, who shall stay JEHOVAH's lifted Hand;  
His stedfast Will what Being shall withstand;  
Or what created Pow'r shall dare to countermand.

Lo! in the Glorious Mansions of the Blest,  
*CALVERT* partakes of Everlasting Rest.  
No more th'ungrateful World his Thoughts employs,  
Nor interrupts his never fading Joys;  
No more the gen'ral Business of Mankind  
Shall discompose his ever peaceful Mind;  
But radiant Crowns his Virtues shall attend  
With Bliss divine that ne'er shall know an End.

Nor longer shall your Province mourn its Fate,  
While OGLE's Conduct guides the Helm of State:  
Attending Justice round his Seat prevails,  
Oppression flies before her lifted Scales;  
With cheerful Eyes she sees her Pow'r maintain'd,  
Well pleas'd the Sword is plac'd in OGLE's Hand:  
Directing Wisdoms all instructive Rays  
Inspire his Councils, and inform his Ways:  
In whitest Robes relenting Mercy drest,  
Presides the Darling Fav'rite of his Breast:  
In him shall ev'ry Virtue shine display'd,  
And *CALVERT*'s Loss in Him shall doubly be repaid.

He said, and strait directs his airy Flight,  
With Wings expanded to the Realms of Light.

The Genius with her Eyes pursu'd the Sprite,  
Til Space immense deceiv'd her wavring Sight;  
Her hands extended to the distant Skies;  
O welcome News! with Extasy she cries!  
*CALVERT* remov'd from all his Toils, enjoys  
Perpetual Happiness that never cloys.  
No more shall unavailing Sorrows rise,  
No more shall briny Torrents swell these Eyes;  
But grateful Thanks to courteous Heav'n bestow,

That CALVERT reigns above, and OGLE rules below.

And you lamenting Comfort weep no more,  
No more your melancholy Loss deplore;  
But calm the boistrous Passions of your Breast,  
And lull your agonizing Soul to Rest.  
Oh! let his offspring now your Comfort prove  
Those tender Pledges of your mutual Love,  
Great as their Father, as their Mother Fair,  
See they intreat your kind maternal Care:  
The budding Beauties of their infant Age,  
Already the admiring World engage;  
But when the Ripeness of their blooming Charms  
Shall bless some future Worthy's longing Arms,  
In them their Mother's Virtue shall inspire  
A Merit equal to their Father's Fire.

Nor tho' our fruitless Sorrow refrain,  
Shall he in dark Oblivion's Grave remain.

While Chesapeak's luxurious Waves repay  
Their tributary Rivers to the Sea;  
While deep Patowmack's Spring remains unknown,  
And Indian Kings our Lord's Dominion own,  
So long shall CALVERT's Honour, Praise, and Name,  
Shine in the Annals of Immortal Fame:  
So long shall future Times his Actions tell,  
And faintly copy what they never can excell.

#### FOREIGN

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A Letter of Eleanor Queen of England to the Pope wherein  
she mournfully implores his assistance for the release of her  
Son Richard King of Engld

Eleanor long travell'd in Afflictions Road  
Created Sovereign by an angry God  
Queen of this Realm in Indignation made  
Begs and Intreats the Pontiffs friendly aid  
Be now a Father all your Power exert  
And kindly take a wretched Mothers part  
I thought indeed to stifle all my Grief  
To mourn in Private and seek no relief  
For such excessive Brief as mine is found  
To rage like madness and it knows no Bound  
For Lord Companion no nor Friend it cares

Not even you yourself sometime it spares  
 Forgive then each unguarded Word or Line  
 For never sure was Sorrow such as mine  
 Missfortune on Missfortune I engross  
 Domestick Evils and a Public Loss  
 I Grieve and Vex not for Myself alone  
 But mourn a Nations mischiefs with mine own  
 A Universal Grievance makes me weep  
 The Arrows of the Lord have struck me deep  
 My Spirits are exhausted while I Grieve  
 I Breath its true but Can't be said to Live  
 Divided People into Ruin cast  
 Distracted Nations Provinces laid wast  
 And all the Western Church pour forth their Cares  
 And mix their Lamentations with their Prayers.

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#### To THE QUEEN

Great Queen to Pity the distressed Inclin'd  
 Let here a Mourning muse acceptance find  
 Behold a Grief which is but Rarely seen  
 The Sorrows of a Mother and a Queen  
 See her Surrounded with a Crowd of Fears  
 See Eleanor see Majesty in Tears  
 Her Darling Born to Rule and to Command  
 A Tyrants Captive in a distant Land  
 Under the Burden of her Woes she faints  
 How Deep her Sighs how moving her Complaints  
 A Weeping Queen is what the World Cant bear  
 It makes a People tremble and despair  
 Far different the Lot of her who Reigns  
 For Undisturb'd you Quiet Heaven Ordains  
 To you Great Queen its happiness imparts  
 You Rule a Sovereign in the Peoples Hearts  
 The Sons of Eleanor Gave her no rest  
 Your happy in a Prudent Offspring Bless'd  
 Domestick Feuds and Quarrels her Dismay  
 Serene you Govern Clearful they Obey  
 Her Dearest Richard lost she makes her Moan  
 You Lose a daughter but you find a Son

Finis

## LETTERS OF JAMES RUMSEY.

Edited by JAMES A. PADGETT, Ph. D.

(Continued from *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XXXII, 1, page 28.)To GEORGE WASHINGTON <sup>53</sup>Shepherdstown Sept<sup>r</sup> 19th 1786

Dr. General—

When I wrote you from Alexandria on the Sixth Inst<sup>t</sup>. I was on my way to the Southward and Did not Return to this place untill Last Evening which was the Reason you Did not hear from me Sooner what Suckess we had in the Experiment I mentioned to you in that Letter that we Expected to have with the Boat, M<sup>r</sup> Barnes <sup>54</sup> got her Ready on Saterday the 9<sup>th</sup> Inst<sup>t</sup> and put about three tuns of Stone in her and Could not avoid takeing in nine or ten persons that was waiting To See her Tryed which made near four tuns on Board, when She set out, the River being a Little up was in his favor as it was not naturally Rapid where tryal was made, he went up about two hundred yards greatly to the Satisfaction and Admiration of the Spectators, but not so to himself, for the following Reasons, first the mechinery Being fixed on But one Boat, Instead of two, as first Intended prevented her from going So Steadey as She Ought To have Done, the people on Board Shouting and Running Backward and forward aded much to this Inconvenance, In the next place the poles or Shovers was made of wood with Iron Spikes at their Lower End, to Sink them, which Spikes proved too Light, and Caused the poles Very frequently to Slip on the Bottom, But the greatest Determent was that when a pole got a good holt on One Side and not on the Other it had a Tendancey to give their a Heel, which would throw part of the wheel out of water, which weakened the power, and would

<sup>53</sup> Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>54</sup> Mr. Barnes was a brother-in-law of Rumsey, note 26.

often Loosen the foot of the pole, So as to make it Slip. These Inconveneys M<sup>r</sup> Barnes Related to me, they were what I too much Expected from a tryal with one Boat, But not having time, nor yet being Able to Build another at the present, was therefore Obliged to Risk the one, It was on wensday on my way Up that I got these accounts form M<sup>r</sup> Barnes, we then went on Board for another Experiment, But the water had got so Lowe that It Did not move But Little more than Two miles per hour, which by my Calculations I had aCo[u]nted only Sufficient to overcome the friction of the Mechine, we Moved up Slowly for Sum Distance During which time two or thre persons (acquantances) Colected on the Shore and Informed me that many others would be Down Very Soon I therefore thought it Best to put to Shore and take of Sum of the Mechinery, as the first Impression Received of her going was favorable, the Current then too Slack To Impress them again with an Openion that She would make much progress, the Company Came Down and Insisted much on Seeing her go. I excused myself from it, altho almost Induced to push up to pains falls which was not far above us But on Considering the Lightness of our poles and the Strenth of the Current in (that place) I Doubted their Sinking, Besides their is (you know) many Rocks in that place that Lye But Little under water that might Break the wheel, and Spectators Generally give their opinion According to what they See, without any allowance for Accidents, which Determined me not to attempt It publicly, nor have I made any farther Experiment Since. It is Evedant from what has Been Done that She would make a tolerable progress in all Currents, that is Strait and Clear of Rocks, and moves three miles per hour, or upwards, But will go But Slow in Currents Under that Velocity. It is also Certain that It will never Answer a Valuable purpos Except when put upon two Boats (as it Cannot be Steadey on One) In which Case their is not the Least Doubt But it will answer Every purpose that was Ever Expected from it. I Cannot with the propriety Expect you to Come to See her in her present Situation, But if you would wish to See [her]

Before any alteration is made, and will Lett me kno[w] It by a Line I will Bring her Down to Sum Conven[ient] place and will Sent you word where to Come to See her <sup>55</sup>

I am Sir with great Regard your most Ob<sup>t</sup> and Very hb<sup>t</sup>  
Serv<sup>t</sup>.

James Rumsey

His Excellency George Washington Esq<sup>r</sup>  
Mount Vernon—Honored by Cap<sup>t</sup> Wessfall

To GEORGE WASHINGTON <sup>56</sup>

Annapolis Dec<sup>r</sup> 17th 1787

Sir

Inclosed you have Copies of two Certificates of what the Boat performed at Sum tryals we have been makeing I have a number more but as they are the Same in Substance I thought it not nessessary to Copy them, we Exhibeted under many Disadvantages and Should not have Come forth publicly untill Spring if it had not been for M<sup>r</sup> Fitches <sup>57</sup> Stealing a march on me in Virginia I have sent Down a number of Certificates to the asembly of the first Days performance the Second was not then made I also Inclose you a Contrast Drew by Cap<sup>t</sup> Redinger Between M<sup>r</sup> Fitches Boat and mine.—I met with Governor Johnson <sup>58</sup> here, he told me of a Letter he had wrote you respecting Sum Conversation that him and me had about my applying Steam to work the Boat as well as I Remember it happened in oct<sup>er</sup> 1785, when I Informed him of my Intention of applying Steam and Spoke to him for to Cast Cillinders for

<sup>55</sup> Rumsey's first idea, which he tried to put into effect in his first boat, was to suck water in the front of the boat and out at the rear with steam, and his boat as tried out at this time was a pole boat which some claim was not a steamboat. Westcott, *Life of John Fitch*, 138, 173. See Smithsonian Institute for model of the boat of James Rumsey.

<sup>56</sup> Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>57</sup> John Fitch and James Rumsey each claimed to have invented the steamboat. Each had his supporters in this contention at the time and ever since. Compare Thompson Westcott, *Life of John Fitch*, and George M. Beltzhoover, *James Rumsey, Inventor of the Steamboat*.

<sup>58</sup> See note 49.

me, he aloud that from what Little he Could gather on the Subject he Suposed it to be quite an other kind of a machine I told him that the modle which I showed to you was, he than Said he thought I had Used you Ill I Told him I beleived not for that I had Informed you of my Intention to try Steam, I Can Recolect no more that was Said upon that Subject But it Seems that Governor Johnson has taken Up a Rong Ideea of the matter and Supposed that I had Informed you of my Intention to apply Steam at the time I obtained your Certificate <sup>59</sup> nor Did I know untill now that he Viewed my Information in that Light, nor Did I Ever Conceive that I had gave you any information Respecting it only that I had Such a thing in Idea untill the Letter that I wrote you on the 10th of march 1785, nor had I before near about that time Reduced it to any form Suficiantly promising to Determin me to make The tryal I as then Determened, as I wrote you as follows " I have taken the greatest pains to afect an other kind of Boats upon the principles I was mentioning to you at Richmond I have the plasure to Inform you—that I have brought it to great perfection it is true it will Cost Sum more than the other way but when done is more mannageable and Can be worked by a few hands the power is amence and I have Quite Convincd myself that Boats of pasage may be made to go against the Current of Missippa or ohio River or in the gulf Stream from the Leward <sup>60</sup> to the Windward Isllands <sup>61</sup> from Sixty to one hundred miles per day " <sup>62</sup>—this was Certainly an Information and was what I aluded to when I toald govenor Johnson that I had Informed you of it, a Little farther on in the Same Letter is the following paragraff—" the plan I intend to persue is to build the Boat with boath the powers on Board on a Large Seale."—As you Did not make any objection to the plan proposed when you wrote me an answer to the Letter I Considered myself at Liberty to go on Upon the Steam plan Conected with the other Nor Did I drop the Idea of Doing So untill Long

<sup>59</sup> For this certificate see note 25.

<sup>60</sup> See note 31.

<sup>61</sup> See note 32.

<sup>62</sup> Rumsey to Washington, March 10, 1785.

after I had the Honor of Seeing Last But not Being able to accomplish the Building of an Other Boat and finding by the Little Experiment I made that one Boat would not Do alone I was at a great Loss to know how to act and if it had not been on account of your Certificate I Would then have Quit it, being under so many Embarrasments and nearly a new machine to be made before any thing Co<sup>uld</sup> be Done as my new Constructed Boiler made Such hot Steam as to melt all the Soft Solder and News Comeing frequently that M<sup>r</sup> Fitch would Soon Come forth, ad to this that the Ice Carryed away my Boat and Broke thirty feet out of her middle, a Large familty to Support no Buisness going on, In Debted, and what Little money I Could Rake together Expended, a gentleman has Since assisted me to whome I have Mortgaged a few family negroes which must soon go if I Do not Raise the money for him before Long. my present plan is so Simple Cheap and powerfull that I think it would be Rong to attemt the former plan, I would wish to Say Sumthing to the Public about it, on your account. But Doubt my own Abilityes to give that Satesfacteon I would wish, It has gave me much uneasyness Especially as I have By a train of Unforeseen Events So often apeared to you as a parson acting Inconsistantly and I Can Say in truth however unfortunate I have been in the attempt that my greatest ambition is & has been to Deserve your Esteem—I intend to philidelphia Before my Return, and in January I will (if in my power) go to South Carolina & gergia—your Letter to govenor Johnson prevented M<sup>r</sup> Fitch from geting an act here You have Sir my Sincerest thank for the many favors you Conferred on me—I am your Much Obliged Hb<sup>l</sup> hb<sup>l</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>—

James Rumsey

P. S. the Original papers from which These are Coppyed was acknowledged bef[ore] Magestrates and the County Seal affixe[d to] them, which I Did not think nessesary to Copy I am with great Esteem—J. Rumsey

Excellency George Washington Esq<sup>r</sup>  
Mount Vernon

To GEORGE WASHINGTON <sup>\*\*</sup>

[Enclosed with letter of December 17, 1787 but in Washington papers] under December 3, 1787

On Monday December the 3<sup>d</sup> 1787 I was Requested to See an Experiment on potomack River made by—James Rumsey's Steam Boat and had no Small pleasure to See her get on her way with near half her Burthen on Board and move against the Current at the Rate of three Miles per hour by force of Steam without any External application whatever, I am well Informed and Verily believe that the Machine at present is Very Imperfect and by no meanes Capable of performing what it would Do if Compleated. I have not the Least Doubt but it may be brought Into Common Use and bee of great advantage to navegation as the Machine Is Simple, Light, and Cheap, and will be Exceedingly Durable, and Does not occupy a Space of more than four feet by two and a half—

Horatio Gates. Late Maj<sup>r</sup>  
General of the Continental army— <sup>\*\*</sup>

## Copy

Being Requested to See an Experiment made by—James Rumseys Steam Boat on potomack River on Tuesday the 11 of December 1787 it was with great pleasure that we Saw her get

<sup>\*\*</sup> Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Horatio Gates (1728—April 10, 1806) was born in England; served in the French and Indian War; made brigadier-major in 1760; bought an estate in Berkley county, Virginia, at the close of the war; was made adjutant-general with the rank of brigadier in 1775; was one of the men mixed up in the Conway Cabal; he received credit for winning Saratoga, but Schuyler should have the honor; and was made president of the Board of War and Ordnance in 1777. He retired to his farm in Virginia in 1778; appointed to command the forces in the South, June 13, 1780; his forces were cut to pieces on August 16, 1780, at Camden, South Carolina; and for his disgraceful flight into the interior of North Carolina Congress had an investigation, but the only outcome was the appointment of Greene to the command in the South. He then returned to his farm in Virginia where he lived until 1790, when he moved to New York City. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, II, 614-15.

on her way with upwards of three tuns on board And move against the Current at the Rate of about four miles an hour by the force of Steam, without any External application Whatever. We are well Informed and & believe That the Mechanery is at present Very Imprefect and by no means Capeble of performing what it would Do if Compleated. We are perswaded that it may be broght Into Common Use, and be of great advantage to navegation, as the mechinery is Simple, Light, and Cheap, and Does not Ocupy a Space of more than four by two and ahalf—

Charl<sup>s</sup> Morrow <sup>65</sup>  
 Ro<sup>t</sup> Stubbs  
 Henry Bedinger  
 W. L. White  
 Abraham Shepherd <sup>66</sup>

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To GEORGE WASHINGTON <sup>67</sup>

Shepherdstown March 24th 1788

D<sup>r</sup> General

With this you will Receive five pamphlets Respecting my Boat and other plans, the Subject is not handled Quite to my wish as I was Obliged to get a person to Correct my Coppys In Doing which my Ideas in Several places were new modled but not So much as to figure the Truths I wished to Introduce, But has made Sum things Rather Obscure.

I hope Sir, that the nessisaty there was of Such an Explanations being made to the public, will plead my Excuse for Taking the Liberty of Introducing your name into my Concerns, and Shall Do my best Endeavours to Conduct myself In Such a

<sup>65</sup> Colonel Charles Morrow was the brother of Rumsey's wife. *William and Mary Quarterly*, XXIV, S. 1, 155.

<sup>66</sup> Abraham Shepherd was a lieutenant in Virginia, 1775; captain, 1776; captured at Fort Washington, November 16, 1776; exchanged, August 26, 1778; appointed captain again, but retired September 14, 1778, on account of sickness. Francis B. Heitman, *Officer of the Revolution*, 493.

<sup>67</sup> Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

manner as in Sum Degree to Deserve the Honor it Does me, you may Rest ashored that all that I have proposed is within my power to perform, I have proven them all Experimentilly, and have modles by Me Suficeantly Large to Convince any Compitant Judge (that may Exammon them) of the truth thereof—

Tomorow morning I throw myself upon the Wide World In persuit of my plans, being no longer Able to proceed Upon my Own foundation, I Shall bend my Course for philadelphia where I hope to have it in my power to Convince a Franklin <sup>68</sup> and a Rittenhouse <sup>69</sup> of their Utelity, by actual Experiments, as M<sup>r</sup> Barnes <sup>70</sup> is to Set out in about ten Days after me with all the machinery in a waggon and halt at Baltimore untill I write him from philadelphia what Encouragement we may Expect there, if none we will push Immediately for South Carolina—

There is no period in life that Could give one more Satisfaction than to have it in my power to Stop the mouths of the Envious few (I might add Ignoreant) that has taken the Liberty To Cast Reflections on the Gentlemen that was kind anough To give me Certificates; one of this Discription would have got Roughly handled by the Gentlemen of this place if he had not made a Very timely Escape. I must Say that I am under great Obligations to the Gentlemen of this Country, on hearing my Intentions to travel, a number of them Vollintarily furnished me with Letters to Gentlemen of their acquaintances in Different States, and ten of the Magestrates has given me a Recommendation that would Do Honor to a much Worthyer

<sup>68</sup> Benjamin Franklin had all his life been much interested in science and inventions.

<sup>69</sup> David Rittenhouse (April 8, 1732-June 26, 1796) was an instrument maker, astronomer, and mathematician of Philadelphia. He supplied his own needs; constructed his own instruments; and made discoveries. He was the actual surveyor of the Mason and Dixon Line. His orrery represents the motions of the heavenly bodies; illustrates the solar and lunar eclipses; and shows other phenomena for a period of 5,000 years forward and backward. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XV, 630-32.

<sup>70</sup> See note 26.

person, I mention this Sir because I Conceive I am Indebted to you for a great part of the zeal they have Shewn Upon this Occation, and Should be ungratefull If I Did not feel the weight of the great Obligations I am under To you—you shall hear from me if I meet with any Occurance that I Conceive is worthy of your Attention—I am Sir with Every Sentiment of Esteem & Regard your much Obliged and Very Hb<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

James Rumsey

P. S. Just as I was Sealing the Letter I Received a notice from the Director of the potomack Company that a motion would be made to Recover £26—Sterling of me already Called for—I have M<sup>r</sup> Hortshorns Receipt for five Dollars and the Boats the Valuation of which when passed to be applyed to pay two ten pound Devidends; for Winecoop One for me and the Ballance to my Credit with Hartshorn and C<sup>o</sup> as I finished the Boats their valuation was then £57..12..0 Virginia money as I owed M<sup>r</sup> hartshorn & C<sup>o</sup> but £5. there is nearly as much Comeing to me as will Discharge the third & forth Dividends It is out of my power to pay the 5th Dividend In time must therefore abide by the Consequences, I have M<sup>r</sup> Stuarts receipt for the Boats which M<sup>r</sup> Hartshorn has Seen I Shall have a Statement of the hole forwarded to the Directors as Soon as possible I am &c J. Rumsey

His Excellency George Washington Esq<sup>r</sup>  
Mount Vernon

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To GEORGE WASHINGTON <sup>71</sup>

philadelphia May 15th 1788

D<sup>r</sup> General,

When I Last had the honor of writing to you I was about Seting out on a Very uncertain Expedition. I came to this place with an Intention of Astablishing my prior Rights to the

<sup>71</sup> Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

Invention of the Steam boat and have met with great Oppozetion from M<sup>r</sup> Fitches Company <sup>72</sup> who Seem to Stop at nothing to Carry their point by advice of Several friends we attempted an Agatiation of the matter and I was met Several Times by Deputyes from his Company in The Course of which I offered to make an Equal Join of the matter with them which they Refused, & they offered me one Eighth which I Refused, when all negotiation Ceased

I Laid the Draft of Several Machines before the philosophical Society <sup>73</sup> Expecting thereby to Secure Such Inventions to myself Among these Drafts, was my new Invented Boiler for Generateing Steam my papers was In possession of his Excellency Doctor Franklin Several Days before the Day of meeting But on that Day three other Drafts was handed in of Boilers on the Same principles of mine but Varyed a Little in form two of these was a M<sup>r</sup> Voights <sup>74</sup> a partners of M<sup>r</sup> Fitches, <sup>75</sup>

<sup>72</sup> The Fitch Company was backed by many of the leading men in Philadelphia. *Dictionary of American Biography*, VI, 425-6.

<sup>73</sup> The American Philosophical Society was an outgrowth of Franklin's Junto of 1727, and the American Society for Promoting and Propagating Useful Knowledge of 1766. It is now housed in Independence Square. Frankliniana now has a collection of 14,000 volumes and a library of 45,000 volumes. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, XVII, 706.

<sup>74</sup> Henry Voight was a watch-maker of Philadelphia and was of invaluable assistance to John Fitch in his inventions. *Dictionary of American Biography*, VI, 425-6.

<sup>75</sup> John Fitch (January 21, 1743-July 2, 1798) was a self-educated mechanical genius; went to sea and took great interest in machinery; fought in and made guns for the Revolution; settled in Kentucky; was captured by the Indians and turned over to the British; later settled in Bucks county, Pennsylvania, and became quite an explorer and trader in the Northwest Territory. Having failed in everything else he ever undertook, he in 1785 turned his entire attention to steamboat building, and for thirteen years until his death he devoted all his time to this great work. The Continental Congress refused to help him, but in 1786 New Jersey, and in 1787 Pennsylvania, New York, Delaware, and Virginia granted him the exclusive privilege of using their waters for steam navigation for a period of fourteen years. On August 22, 1787, he displayed his boat, operated by six propellers on a side, before the members of the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. A controversy then arose between Fitch and Rumsey over who actually invented the steamboat. In 1788 Fitch built a still larger boat with a paddle-wheel, and established regular passenger service on the Delaware.

the other by a person of Influence a teacher in the Collage I found who it was by axedent, Inclosed you have the Report of a Committee of the philosophical Society on the above mentioned Mechenes, also the proposials of a plann I published to form a Company and the names of the persons That has Subscribed to it, when this was known Mr Fitches party Immediately Sent a Draft of the boiler to Urope, with Letters and Instructions to apply for a pattent for it, the Gentlemen that formed my Company was Boared at Such Treatment and at the next meeting after the first formation of it, they Subscribed 1000 Dollars more for the Express purpose of Sending me to Urope and I am to Set of in the morning, Doctor Franklin and a number of other Gent<sup>l</sup> write Letters by me to their friends in Europe. If you think Sir that you Could with propriaty mention me in a Line the first opertunity to the Marquis La Fayette <sup>70</sup> Mr Jefferson <sup>71</sup> or any other Gentlemen that you may think proper the favor Should always be most Greatfully Remembered. Benjaman Vaughn <sup>72</sup> Esq<sup>r</sup> Jeffreys Square and Mr Robert Barkley Thraler Brewery Southwark Lands are to be two of my Confitential friends—& to turn Doct<sup>r</sup> Franklin is to name

In 1791 he received patents in the United States and in France for his invention, but a wreck of his boat that year in Philadelphia discouraged his company and they refused to advance him any more money. That year he went to France where he likewise failed; returned to America as a common sailor; remained in seclusion for two years near Boston; built a screw propelled boat in New York; and in 1796 returned to Kentucky. He in his life had built four successful steamboats, yet he failed. *Dictionary of American Biography*, VI, 425-6.

<sup>70</sup> The Marquis La Fayette of American Revolutionary fame was at this time very popular in France.

<sup>71</sup> Jefferson was at this time in France. He was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to France on May 7, 1784, and then Minister on March 10, 1785. He returned to the United States after the election of Washington, and was immediately made Secretary of State. *Biographical Directory of Congress*, 1148.

<sup>72</sup> Benjamin Vaughan (April 19, 1751–December 8, 1835) was a physician and writer. He spent much time in Europe, especially in England; was a go-between in the peace negotiations of 1782-3; removed to America in 1794; and remained in the United States until his death. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VI, 266-7.

one or two more In his Letters which I have not got yet but am to Call on him in the Evening for them—<sup>79</sup>

I am Sir with Every Sentiment of Esteem your much obliged hb<sup>1</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>—James Rumsey

P. S. If M<sup>r</sup> hartshorne <sup>80</sup> would give me Credit for the Boats and Sum Other Small accounts that Lye with him It would nearly pay what was Called for by the Company before I Came from home—

His Excellency George Washington Esq<sup>r</sup>  
Free

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TO GEORGE WASHINGTON <sup>81</sup>

Enclosed in; 1788, May 15, Rumsey to Washington

PROPOSALS FOR FORMING A COMPANY, TO ENABLE JAMES  
RUMSEY

To Carry into Execution, on a Large Scale Extensive Plan, His  
STEAM BOAT

And sundry other Machines herein after mentioned.

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WHEREAS JAMES RUMSEY, of Berkley county, in the state of Virginia, has been several years employed, with unremitting attention and at a great expence, in bringing to perfection the

<sup>79</sup> Rumsey, in the spring of 1788, went to England where he soon secured patents for his inventions, and his friends secured patents in America for him in 1791 for his boiler and engine. For more than four years he stayed abroad trying to perfect his second boat, but disheartening circumstances, mostly due to the lack of money, discomfitted him. His friends, even the Rumseian Society, deserted him. The *Columbia Maid* was about finished when he died in London in 1792. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVI, 223.

<sup>80</sup> Fitzgerald and Hartshorne were men interested in the act for improving the navigation of the Potomac, and were appointed to receive subscriptions for copies of the act. Hartshorne later became treasurer of the Potomac Company. Fitzpatrick, *Diaries of Washington*, II, 336.

<sup>81</sup> Washington Papers, Library of Congress. This is a printed circular, and is filed in Washington's Papers under May 1, 1788.

following machines and engines, namely, one for propelling boats on the water, by power of steam, which has already been accomplished in experiments, on a boat of about six tons burthen; another machine constructed on similar principles, for raising water at a small expence, to be applied to the working mills of different kinds, as well as to various useful purposes in agriculture; and also others, by means of which, grist and saw-mills may be so improved in their construction, by a very cheap and simple mechanism, as to require the application of much less water than is necessary in the common mode: and whereas the expenditures that the said James Rumsey has necessarily incurred in the perfection of those important discoveries, and in endeavouring to bring the machines and engines which he has so invented to perfection, have rendered him incapable, without assistance, to carry his said plans fully into effect: Therefore, he, the said James Rumsey, hereby doth, by the advice of sundry gentlemen of reputation, propose to form a company on the following plan, to enable him to complete and carry into execution his aforesaid inventions; being anxious to evince the great utility, which he is confident, will refute to his country therefrom. For this purpose, he proposes.

1st. To reserve, subject to his own disposal, one moiety or half part of the interest, and property, in his said discoveries and machines.

2nd. That the other moiety of the interest and property in the same, he divided into fifty equal shares, to be disposed of to such gentlemen as may choose to encourage so laudable and beneficial an undertaking.—The purchasers to pay at the time of subscribing, twenty Spanish milled dollars, for each share, into the hands of the said James Rumsey, or of the trustee hereafter to be appointed, who will be authorized by him to receive subscriptions.

3d. The said James Rumsey, hereby engages to convey to the said Trustees, for the use and benefit of the company, Lands, of considerable value, as a security for the faithful appropriation of the monies so to be subscribed; which monies shall be

applied to the immediate purposes of perfecting the before mentioned machines, and obtaining grants from the legislatures of the several states, vesting in the said James Rumsey, his executors, administrators and assigns, an exclusive right to, and interest in the said discoveries and machines, for a certain term of years.

4th. The said James Rumsey further engages, that, at the expiration of one year from the date thereof (at which time he expects to have his machines completed) he will convey to each subscriber, his executors, administrators, or assigns, the share or shares by them respectively subscribed for, on his or their paying the said James Rumsey the additional sum of forty Spanish milled dollars, on each share so subscribed, and that, should any subscriber, or his legal representative then wish to relinquish his share or shares, the money advanced by him for the same, shall be refunded to him. But should it so happen, that all or a great number of the subscribers, or their representatives should not be desirous of retaining their respective shares, and that the said James Rumsey should thereby, be disabled from refunding to them, out of the funds arising from the original subscriptions, the sum of twenty dollars advanced for each share; in that case he agrees that the lands, so as aforesaid to be conveyed in trust, shall be sold by the trustees aforesaid, for the express purpose of reimbursing the monies, advanced by those persons so declining to retain their shares; the surplus to be refunded to the said James Rumsey or his representatives.

5th. That those persons who may think proper to pay the additional sum of forty dollars for each share, and thereby be invested with a complete proprietorship in the concern, shall form themselves into a company, which shall hold their meetings at such times and places as may be by them agreed upon, for the purpose of promoting the interest of the proprietors, and for directing the mode, in which the business of the company shall, from time to time be conducted. That at all such meetings of the company, each proprietor shall be entitled to one vote for every share he shall possess, to the number of

five (inclusive) and one vote for every five additional shares. That the said James Rumsey, so long as he shall continue as proprietor of one moiety (equivalent to fifty shares) or of a lesser number, shall be entitled to a proportionable number of votes, with the other proprietors; and that every person who may purchase from the said James Rumsey a share or shares (each of which shall be one equal fiftieth part of his the said James Rumsey's proprietorship, hereby reserved) shall have the same right of voting as other proprietors.

That, so soon as twenty shares shall be subscribed for, the subscribers shall meet, in order to appoint trustees, for the purposes before specified; and that when the company shall be completely organized, every person entitled to give a vote in person, shall also, in case of absence, have a right to vote by proxy.

In WITNESS of the premises, We the Subscribers, have hereunto set our Names, this first day of May 1788.

His Exce <sup>ly</sup> Benj <sup>a</sup> Franklin	One Share
General Arthur Sinclair	One ditto
Rev <sup>d</sup> George Duffield	One ditto
William Bingham Esq <sup>r</sup>	One ditto
Benjiman Wyncoop Esq <sup>r</sup>	20 ditto
Rev <sup>d</sup> Sam <sup>l</sup> McGaw	One ditto
Myers Fisher Esq <sup>r</sup>	One ditto
William Barton Esq <sup>r</sup>	One ditto
M <sup>r</sup> Levi Hollingsworth	two ditto
M <sup>r</sup> John Wilson	One ditto
M <sup>r</sup> John Jones	One ditto
M <sup>r</sup> James Trenchard	four ditto
M <sup>r</sup> Joseph James	two ditto
Mess <sup>rs</sup> Reed & Ford	One ditto
M <sup>r</sup> Sam <sup>l</sup> Wheeler	two ditto
M <sup>r</sup> Richard Adams	One ditto
Rev <sup>d</sup> Burgiss Allison	One ditto
Mers Fisher (for Robert Barclay)	one share
Charles Vancouver	one share

To GEORGE WASHINGTON <sup>\*\*</sup>

[Inclosed in 1788, May 15, Rumsey to Washington]

Philadelphia, 1788.

At a meeting of the American Philosophical Society, of the 18th. of April 1788, a letter was received from Mr. James Rumsey, of the State of Virginia, accompanied with a drawing and description of an improved boiler for a steam engine, as also drawings & descriptions of

1. An improvement in Dr. Barker's Grist-Mill.
  2. An improvement in the Saw-Mill.
  3. An improvement in raising water, by means of a Steam-engine.
- 

Ordered, that Dr. Ewing, Mr. Rittenhouse, and Mr. Professor Patterson, be a committee to examine the several papers on the production and use of Steam, and to make report to the Society thereon.

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May 2d 1788.

At a stated meeting of the Society;

A Report from the committee to whom were referred sundry papers, by the Society, at their last meeting, was produced and read. It is as followeth, viz.

"Your committee have examined the several papers to them referred by the Society; at their last meeting, except that offered for the annual premium; on which they do not think it proper to give their opinion, at present

The principle which Mr. Rumsey and Mr. Voight seem to have adopted, in the construction of their proposed boilers for Steam-Engines, viz. to increase the surface, and diminish the quantity of water exposed to the action of the fire, appears to our committee, in general to be just. But what may be the

<sup>\*\*</sup> Washington Papers, Library of Congress. This is a printed circular.

best application of this principle, must, no doubt, in some measure be determined by actual experiments.

The improvements which Mr. Rumsey proposes in Dr. Barker's Grist-Mill; that in the Saw-Mill; and that in the raising of water, by means of a Steam-Engine, are certainly ingenious, in theory, and will deserve a full trial."

Signed by John Ewing,

David Rittenhouse,  
Robert Patterson,

Extract from the minutes

Samuel Magraw one of the secretaries.

N. B. The plan of a boiler laid before the Philosophical Society, by Mr. Voight (Mr. Fitch's partner) alluded to in the foregoing certificate, so different from mine in form but in principle, and I have good reason to believe that he got his first idea from mine, which I shall endeavour to make appear—at any rate I shall incontestably prove that I was near two years before him in that invention.

James Rumsey.

Philadelphia May 10th. 1788.

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Paris March 20th 1789

Dear West,<sup>ss</sup>

I have this day had a good ride upon by hobby, It was by the particurlar request of our American Embeseder that I took this ride, and glad I was of the oportunity, of mounting, haveing been So long out of practice, by being in a Country where the people Could not understand the Language in which I Explained, hobby gates, M<sup>r</sup> Jefferson<sup>s</sup> Hotel was the place appointed for me to Exercise, and I had not been long mounted before M<sup>r</sup> Jefferson bore me Company and fine Sport we Should

<sup>ss</sup> Rumsey Collection, Library of Congress.

have had, would time have permitted; but dinner time Came on and Company arived that had been invited to dine, the horse was therefore obliged to be Stabled; however M<sup>r</sup> Jefferson was so pleased with hobby that he then borrowed him of me, with the Explination of his gates.—I know Very Well that what I have Said will Convey to you a Very Clear idea of the Business of the day but I beg that you will not Explain it to any body (not nobody) in the Same way. To be Serious you Cannot Conceive how attentive M<sup>r</sup> Jefferson has been to my buisness, he has been to the Hotels of a great number of the nobility to gain their interest in my favor, but the most of them unfortunately for me, in the Country at the Elections now.—Voteing, when they return I have no doubt but I Shall Succeed in the object of my Jurney, what is much in my favor is M<sup>r</sup> Jefferson being the most popular Embasador at the french Court, they are Certainly fond of America in this Country, for American principles are bursting forth in Every quarter; it must give great pleasure to the feeling mind, to See millions of his fellow Creatures Emergeing from a State not much better than Slavery.<sup>\*\*</sup> I have been but little out but from what I have Seen I think I may Venture to Say that this Country Exceeds England in all arts that tend to Magnifisence and grandure; but in the more usefull ones Such as Manufactureing &c I think they are far behind; you can form no adequate Idea of the Elligance of their Statuary, buildings, furniture &c perhaps after all I may have mistaken quantity for quality, and glitter of Elligance, for on recolecting Some of the Statues that is In Westminter Abby, my assertions Seems to be rather Extravagant, and favor a little the marvelous that you have learnt me to deal in with Such Ease, but do not take this for a recantation of what I have before Said, as it only meant to gain a little time that I may the better make up my mind upon the Subject—

<sup>\*\*</sup> The influence of the American Revolution; the heavy debt piled up by the inefficient French Government; and the condition of the lower classes led to the French Revolution of 1789.

March 22<sup>d</sup> I have this day been Viewing the boats upon the Sceine they are wonderfull large indeed and Carry from 5 to 6 hundred tons, the average Cost of horse hire to bring them from Roane to Paris is *Seventy guineas* a trip which they perform in about 12 days, An Engine would bring them up for ten, Including all Expense, it is said that their is Several thousand Such boats in the kingdom. I think of this, and no longer blame me for being So fond of rideing hobby, I have Such a friendship for you, that nothing Short of observing how pleasantly your little horse Carries you, would prevent me from giveing you and invertation to mount along with me, and after a little practice, to go to the Emperor of germany or the king of Spain, to Soliset Exclusive rights, or rewards for the Use of hobby, this kind of Stile perhaps [ ] not Suit business of Importance; So Seriously, let me hear What you would think of Such Tour, the Countries I Speak of Exceed france for advantages, and I think their is no human Event, not yet Come to pass, that Can be Calculated upon with Such Certainty as the boat plan.

There is a M<sup>r</sup> barlow here,<sup>\*\*</sup> the boston pa[ ] Suppose you have heard of him, he appears [ ] Steady Clever man, I have Some notion of [ ] to him to go to Some of the European States, I [ ] you would hear M<sup>r</sup> Trumbles <sup>\*\*</sup>

<sup>\*\*</sup> Joel Barlow (March 24, 1754–Dec. 24, 1812) was a soldier, chaplain, diplomat, and writer. He was interested in the Ohio Land Company; an agent for the Scioto Land Company of America in France in 1788; but having poor success he turned to politics and letters. For years he wrote in France and in England, which profession he kept up after his return to the United States. He made an unsuccessful race for a seat in the National Convention in France in 1793; accepted a position as consul for the United States to Algiers in 1795; made an excellent official of the United States at this north African city; and was an influential factor in bringing about peace in 1800 between France and the United States. After his return to the United States in 1805 he became a literary savant and refused all offices. However, in 1811, he became Minister to France and went to Poland to see Napoleon, where he died. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, I, 166-7.

<sup>\*\*</sup> John Trumbull (June 6, 1756–Nov. 10, 1843) was adjutant aid to Washington; draftsman for him; resigned in 1777; was aid to Sullivan in

opinion of him, and let me know it.—If the boiler is not Cast before this Comes to hand give directions that their be left two Inches between the bottom of the box that holds the fire and the bottom of the boiler [although I] direted to leave but one I have been thinking also that the Screws on the Sides of the fire place might hold it to the out Side, without haveing any at the top or bottom, Consult the founder about it.—I am your friend & hb<sup>l</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>.

James Rumsey

P. S. When I wrote this I intended to have Sent it (with Several others that I have written to you) by a private hand, as such an opportunity has not appeared I now Send this forward and Shall keep the others, which relate to my journey for another conveyance. I beg you will keep this letter by you as it will remind me of Something I have not yet recorded. this is monday morning, last Evening I Was at the play! where I heard Saw music danceing &c but understood not a word

A monsieur

Monsieur West, N° 2

North Street Charlotte  
per post              Street london

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1778; and in 1780 went to France and then to England where he was imprisoned as a traitor. However, he was released after eight months' confinement on condition that he depart the country immediately. In 1785, he returned to England; studied art under West; traveled in France and other parts of Europe; made England his headquarters most of the time; painted pictures of many noted people, including Jefferson while he was in Paris, General Washington, Martha Washington, and George Clinton; and in 1790 returned to the United States. He was secretary to Jay in the negotiations with England 1794-5; one of the commissioners to execute this treaty; returned to his work in America in 1804, and was one of the leaders in the field of art in the United States. Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VI, 168-9.

## GOVERNOR HORATIO SHARPE AND HIS MARYLAND GOVERNMENT.

PAUL H. GIDDENS.

*Allegheny College.*

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Early on Friday morning, August 10, 1753, the ship *Molly*, after a long journey from England, anchored in the quiet Severn River close to Annapolis. At nine o'clock the newly-appointed Governor of Maryland, Horatio Sharpe, landed at the dock where he was greeted by Benjamin Tasker, President of the Council, a few of the Councillors, and a number of other gentlemen. They walked leisurely through Green Street to Tasker's home and tarried there until after dinner. About four in the afternoon, accompanied by President Tasker, Secretary Edmund Jennings, George Plater, Charles Hammond, Benjamin Tasker, Jr., and Benedict Calvert, all members of the Council, Sharpe went to the Council Chamber where he produced his commission which was opened and read.<sup>1</sup> The oaths of abjuration, test, allegiance, as well as the oath of the Chancellor and one to enforce the Acts of Trade and Navigation, were then administered to the new chief executive. After a brief message, in which Sharpe expressed Lord Baltimore's approval of the Council's past conduct, a formal proclamation was issued announcing the appointment of Horatio Sharpe as "Lieutenant General and Chief Governor of the Province of Maryland and Avalon in America."<sup>2</sup> Thus began an adminis-

<sup>1</sup> *Maryland Gazette*, August 16, 1753.

<sup>2</sup> *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland* August 10, 1753-March 20, 1761, (Archives of Maryland), editor, William Hand Browne, Baltimore, 1911, Vol. XXXI, pp. 3-8. Hereinafter referred to as *Council Pro.*; Daniel Dulany, the elder, wrote to the Hanbury's on September 4, 1753: "Our Gov'r arriv'd the tenth of last month & is very well liked by those who have seen him which gives me hope his government will be agreeable as he really seems to be a good-natured man, of a frank, open temper and free from affectation, and far from being greedy." St. G. L. Sissousat, *Economics and Politics in Maryland, 1720-1750*, and *the Public Services of Daniel Dulany the Elder* (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science), Vol. XXI, Baltimore, 1903, p. 83.

tration destined to last for almost sixteen years, the longest period, with one exception, that any governor ever served Maryland under proprietary rule. These were momentous years, for they witnessed the expansion of the British Empire in America and also the beginnings of its disruption. Could Sharpe have pulled back the veil and peered into the future, one wonders whether or not he would have ever left his native land for turbulent Maryland.

Little is known about the life of Horatio Sharpe prior to his departure from England for America. Born in Yorkshire near Hull, he was thirty-five years old at the time of his arrival in Maryland.<sup>3</sup> He never married, yet it is said that after a few years residence in the province he did become a suitor for the hand of the fair Mary Ogle only to loose her to his young and handsome private secretary.<sup>4</sup> Sharpe once held a captain's commission in Brigadier-General Powlett's regiment of marines and apparently had seen some military service in the West Indies. His talented brothers had already gained distinction in religious, literary, and political circles.<sup>5</sup> The eldest brother was Dr. Gregory Sharpe, a classical scholar, a prebendary in Salisbury Cathedral, a chaplain to Frederick, Prince of Wales, and later to George III, and Master of the Temple. William served as clerk to His Majesty-in-Council. Philip's past remains a secret. Joshua and John were both colonial agents and treasury solicitors, the latter being at one time agent for Jamaica, Barbados, and Nevis. Moreover, John was a member of Parliament for Collington and, upon the death of the fifth Lord Baltimore, became one of the guardians of his son, Frederick. In all probability John Sharpe secured the appointment of his brother to the governorship of Maryland. Incidentally, the political in-

<sup>3</sup> Lady Matilda Edgar, *A Colonial Governor in Maryland*, London, 1911, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 194.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2; W. P. Courtney, "Gregory Sharpe," *Dictionary of National Biography*, Sidney Lee, editor, New York, 1897, Vol. LI, pp. 423-424; Horatio Sharpe, *Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe* (Archives of Maryland), William Hand Browne, editor, Baltimore, 1888, Vol. I, pp. 5 and 13 of the Preface. Hereinafter referred to as *Sharp Cor.*

fluence of all the Sharpe brothers proved to be a most valuable asset for the new Maryland governor. It enabled him to secure important military commands later, to thwart various designs of Lord Baltimore and Secretary Calvert, to convince them of the practicability or impracticability of certain policies, to secure or else prevent the appointment of particular persons to office, and to maintain his standing with the Proprietor and the King. Fraternal advice and counsel Horatio Sharpe often sought. Aside from these facts, little more can be written about the Sharpe family and the early life of the man who guided Maryland through sixteen troublesome years.

Two years prior to Sharpe's appointment, Frederick, the sixth Lord Baltimore, fell heir to Maryland upon the death of his father. He was twenty years old and became the most conceited, weakest, and worst scion of the Calvert family.<sup>6</sup> Carlyle in his *Life of Frederick the Great* refers to his father as "something of a fool, to judge by the face of him in portraits, and by some of his doings in the world."<sup>7</sup> His attempts at writing made him the laughing stock of England. Of his *Tour in the East in the years 1763 and 1764, with remarks on the City of Constantinople and the Turks: Also Select Pieces of Oriental Wit, Poetry and Wisdom*, Lord Orford declared that it "no more deserved to be published than his bills on the road for post-horses."<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, he had the reputation of being a libertine and a rake. Though married to Diana Egerton, daughter of the Duke of Bridgewater, Lord Baltimore stood trial in 1768 for rape. Despite acquittal, people at home and in the colony had little respect for him. While exceedingly anxious to have rents and revenues collected and remitted punctually, he avoided oppressing his Maryland tenants. Apart from the financial interest and the many opportunities to provide his

<sup>6</sup> George Sydeny Fisher, *Men, Women & Manners in Colonial Times*, Philadelphia, 1898, p. 240; Newton D. Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Colony*, New York, 1901, pp. 156-157; William Hand Browne, *Maryland*, Boston, 1895, p. 217.

<sup>7</sup> T. F. Henderson, "Frederick Calvert," *Dictionary of National Biography* Leslie Stephen, editor, London, 1886, Vol. VIII, p. 268.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 268.

favorites with lucrative appointments, Lord Baltimore had little interest in Maryland. He did not even visit his province though an extensive traveler on the Continent. Affairs of government were left largely to the care of a secretary, who, until 1766, was his crafty and scheming old uncle, Cecilius Calvert, and after that, Hugh Hamersley.<sup>9</sup> Under the circumstances Secretary Calvert became more important in determining colonial affairs than either Lord Baltimore or Governor Sharpe. Unfortunately it placed the Governor in a very exasperating position with respect to the determination of policies, appointments, and other proprietary business. After Calvert had been succeeded by Hamersley, there was not nearly so much friction between the Secretary and Governor.

Lord Baltimore held Maryland with almost unrestricted privileges according to the charter.<sup>10</sup> In recognition of the King's right in the soil, two Indian arrows had to be delivered every year at Windsor and one-fifth of all gold and silver ore was reserved for the King. Otherwise, the Proprietor had absolute authority to assign, grant, or alienate any part of the land. In addition to an exclusive right to the soil, extensive governmental powers, autoeratic in character, had been granted. Lord Baltimore was the principal source of all military, executive, and judicial authority with the sole right of creating offices, appointing officers, supervising their performance, and delegating powers. Power was transmitted from above downward and all officers of government were made dependent upon the will of the Proprietor, for they served during his pleasure. The Governor was required to transmit regularly the journals of the Assembly as well as accounts of other important transactions. On critical occasions or at the time of some great controversy the Proprietor might communicate with either one or both houses of the legislature and make known his will. Of far greater importance was his right to disallow any act passed by the Maryland Assembly. As head of the church, the Proprietor controlled the patronage and no one could be appointed to a

<sup>9</sup> Mereness, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 153, 158-159. See also the charter of Maryland, pp. 507-520.

living without his approval. The Crown retained the right of control in war, trade, and commerce, but agreed to refrain forever from taxing the person or property of any inhabitant. In brief, the Proprietor originally possessed all the rights, privileges, prerogatives, liberties, and immunities as enjoyed by any Bishop of Durham. The charter aimed to create a strong and highly centralized state. By virtue of his royal rights the Proprietor sat as a petty monarch, the supreme head of the province. It must be remembered, however, that after the creation of a freeman's assembly, great inroads had been made upon the Proprietor's prerogatives. Gradually the Lower House had wrested numerous valuable liberties from the absentee landlords and by mid-eighteenth century it was claiming for itself all the rights and privileges of the ancient House of Commons.

When present in the colony the Proprietor exercised authority in person, but when absent he was represented by a Governor. To his representative, Governor Horatio Sharpe, Lord Baltimore delegated in 1753, most of his monarchial powers.<sup>11</sup> As chief magistrate, Sharpe had authority to make appointments to office, establish ports, markets, and fairs, to pardon offenders of the law, and to remit fines. In his legislative capacity, he could summon, dissolve, adjourn, or prorogue the Assembly and recommend laws, assent to, or veto any act passed. Sharpe kept the proprietary seal, approved all grants of land, issued commissions for all officers, licenses, writs, and proclamations. He was empowered to do whatever was necessary for the defence of Maryland and to suppress any rebellions. Because the general powers of a Governor could either be expanded or contracted by means of proprietary instructions, it is difficult to state more fully just what powers the chief executive possessed at any given moment.

From time to time special instructions, as occasion required, were sent to Governor Sharpe, but for his general guidance the Proprietor provided certain standing instructions. He should

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 159-161, 228.

act in strict conformity with the charter at all times and abide by the instructions to all previous Governors unless altered by later directions. While the Proprietor had the right to appoint civil officers and ministers, the Governor could fill a vacancy subject to Lord Baltimore's subsequent approval. In matters of legislation, the standing instructions directed the governor to pass no bill prejudicial to the Proprietor's prerogative or the property of subjects and tenants without first having Lord Baltimore's approval, to approve no act introducing the English statutes in gross which interferred with the law of 1702 providing for the clergy or dividing a parish without the incumbent's consent, to assent to no private law without first a hearing for the person concerned, and to pass no act relating to paper currency without a suspending clause. Furthermore, legislative bills should deal with only one subject; riders should not be attached. Finally, accounts of all important transactions should be sent regularly to both Lord Baltimore and Secretary Calvert.<sup>12</sup>

For his services as Governor, Sharpe received a salary and certain fees. Under a law of 1704 a duty of 12d. per hogshead on all tobacco exported went to the Governor.<sup>13</sup> By 1756 the duty amounted to £1,400 currency *per annum*. Some fees accrued to Sharpe from the Chancellor's office. In addition, he received £246 currency in 1754 for serving as His Majesty's Surveyor General of Customs.<sup>14</sup> To pay house rent the Assembly annually appropriated £80 currency. Whatever Sharpe's total income may have been, it was so large that Lord Baltimore did not hesitate to ask him to pay over £200 yearly towards the salary of Secretary Calvert.<sup>15</sup>

In all matters pertaining to government a small group of constitutional advisers, called the Council, assisted Sharpe.<sup>16</sup> A full council had twelve members, but the usual number was nine or ten. Councillors were seldom, if ever, removed and vacancies only occurred through death or resignation. The

<sup>12</sup> *Council Pro.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 27.

<sup>13</sup> Mereness, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-173; *Council Pro.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 27.

<sup>14</sup> *Port-folio*, No. 3-30, Maryland Historical Society.

<sup>15</sup> Mereness, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 174-179.

Proprietor upon the recommendation of the Governor appointed the members. Whenever the membership fell to six or below Sharpe had permission to appoint enough to keep the number up to seven, but even these must ultimately be approved by the Proprietor, to promote the peace and welfare of the people, to assist in the administration of justice, and to keep secret all affairs of state.

Sharpe was expected to advise with the Council upon all important state matters and seldom to act contrary to the advice given. Ordinarily business was confined to Indian affairs, to the boundary dispute with the Penns, to giving advice with respect to calling, proroguing, or dissolving the Assembly, to hearing petitions, to granting pardons, and issuing death warrants. The marked decrease of business during the eighteenth century and a corresponding increase of business in the Assembly indicated the transition from a monarchial to a more democratic government.

Councillors received no direct allowance from the Assembly after 1747 because of a feeling that they should be paid out of the appropriation to the Proprietor for maintaining the government.<sup>17</sup> But there were, however, sources of compensation. When the Councillors sat as the Upper House of the Assembly they drew a salary *per diem*. In addition, each Councillor enjoyed the profits from at least one lucrative governmental office. For example, in 1754 Samuel Chamberlaine received for serving in the Upper House £26.6.6 and £240.14.6 from his naval office.<sup>18</sup> Besides being a member of the Upper House, Colonel Edward Lloyd enjoyed large profits from his positions as Agent and Receiver General and Treasurer of the Eastern Shore. The average income of each Councillor in 1754 amounted to nearly £372 currency.<sup>19</sup> Some salaries were so large that the Proprietor asked four of them to contribute £400 annually towards the support of Secretary Calvert.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 181. <sup>18</sup> *Port-folio*, No. 3-30. Maryland Historical Society.

<sup>19</sup> Mereness, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

<sup>20</sup> *The Calvert Papers* (Fund Publication, Vol. XXXIV), Md. Hist. Soc., Baltimore, 1894, Vol. XXXIV, p. 120.

Benjamin Tasker, Sr., Benjamin Tasker, Jr., Daniel Dulany, the elder, George Plater, Edmund Jennings, Charles Hammond, Edward Lloyd, Richard Lee, Samuel Chamberlaine, Philip Thomas, Benjamin Young, and Benedict Calvert formed the council in 1753.<sup>21</sup> Some of the members were men of mediocre, if not poor, ability. "If you knew," declared Governor Sharpe in 1755, "how unaccustomed or how averse the present members (except perhaps Mr. Thomas) were to writing or communicating their thought to the lower house by Message on any Occasion, you would, I am persuaded, think with me that it is highly requisite the vacancies in his Ldp's Council should be supplied with Gentn of Abilities who have been used to argue or write, and would be capable of supporting his Ldp's Rights & Prerogatives whenever a Levelling House of Burgesses should be inclined to attack them. You know, Sir, that few People will choose to engage in a Dispute with those whose superiour Capacity they are sensible of."<sup>22</sup> Sharpe did not know why his predecessors had recommended several members of the Council to Lord Baltimore's attention, but he imagined it could not be on "Account of their extraordinary Abilities for scarcely any of them except Mr. Thomas whose Understanding & Capacity were never questioned have ever taken upon themselves to pen a common Message yet all of them except Mr. Thomas enjoy Lucrative Offices, & as it pleased the Ld Proprietary to distinguish them by peculiar marks of Favour I shall only say that if they are now found deficient either in Point of Understanding or Affection to the Ld Proprietary I hope their Failure or Defects will not be attributed to me who had no hand in their Promotion."<sup>23</sup>

Secretary Calvert did not consider Lord Baltimore's right of nominating to the Council as a "feather wherewith to Tickle the vanity of such as he may be inclined to please, but as the chief strength & support not only of his Lordships rights, but of the whole frame of Government; 'tis by their advice Assem-

<sup>21</sup> *Council Pro.*, August 10, 1753, Vol. XXXI, p. 8.

<sup>22</sup> *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, p. 181.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 426.

blys are called, prorogued & dissolved, & all the Subordinate parts of the Government are directed & put into Motion; It must therefore be of the last consequence to his Lord how the Vacancies that happen there, are filled up; If this point is disregard, you may admit a fool who will not only be troublesome & Impertinent but will Blabb every thing he knows; or if he has abilities, unless you are sure he is well affected to the Proprietor & Government, he will be the more Dangerous in proportion to those Abilities; for I am very well satisfied that placing such a one there is so far from putting him out of the way, as is the pretended opinion of some there, that it is increasing his Power of doing Mischief, by letting him into all the secrets of the Government, & giving him a share of Managemt in that Power which is to controul & direct all the rest & so far corrupting and weakening the only check this Government has over the Madness of popular fury. . . ." <sup>24</sup> Hence, Calvert advised that health, ability, nearness to Annapolis, family connections, and proper attachment to the Proprietor's rights should be considered in selecting persons for the Council. Men of the "Old Stamp of Politicks" should not be recommended by Sharpe.

Since he has been specifically instructed to appoint only men of "Good Life and well Affected to our Church and State," of "Good Estates and Abilities," and "not necessitous Persons or much in debt," Sharpe managed to bring into the Council men of greater talent.<sup>25</sup> William and Charles Goldsborough, R. J. Henry, Stephen Bordley, John Beale Bordley, Henry Hooper, Walter Dulany, Daniel Dulany, the younger, and John Ridout were among those who received promotions to that body during his administration. But these promotions were not made without difficulties. Repeated solicitations on behalf of talented men would frequently meet with failure. Sometimes the Governor had to utter a vigorous protest against the appointment of certain individuals whose merits were invisible, but who had influential connections in England. Occasionally the aspira-

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 376.

<sup>25</sup> Mereness, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-181.

tions of distant kinsmen of the Proprietor within the colony had to be thwarted. To recommend an individual for the Council without making enemies among the numerous applicants was also a delicate task and required tact. Sharpe wrote to Calvert in 1755 that he began "to see that the Art of disposing of Places so as to avoid offences is one of the most difficult parts of Gov & tis not without great Concern that I see yourself rendered uneasy by many & contrary Sollicitations."<sup>26</sup>

Besides the Governor and the Council, there were a number of other great officers of state residing within the province. Except for the Secretary, who was appointed by Secretary Calvert, the Commissary General, judges of the Land Office, and the Attorney General obtained their posts from the Proprietor upon the recommendation of the Governor. For the privilege of holding office, the Secretary had to pay Calvert £50 to £200 per year, the Commissary General £100, and the judges of the Land Office £50 each.<sup>27</sup> The policy of selling offices, by the way, did not escape criticism and attacks. In 1769 the Lower House in a resolution declared, "The sale of offices, now open and avowed, obliges the purchaser, by every way and means in his power, to enhance his fees; this is contrary to law and leads directly to oppression."<sup>28</sup>

Members of the Council always held the great offices of state and received compensation in the form of fees. In 1761 the Secretary received about £300 currency, the Commissary General £250, the Attorney General £50, and the two judges of the Land Office £300 each.<sup>29</sup> In practice, these officers had considerable patronage at their disposal. The Secretary named the fourteen county clerks who paid him one-fourth of their income. The Commissary General appointed one deputy for

<sup>26</sup> *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, p. 182.

<sup>27</sup> Mereness, *op. cit.*, p. 191; Concerning the amounts paid Calvert by the various officers, Sharpe wrote in 1757, "we already pay to Mr. Calvert as much as the places can bear & really if His Ldp will increase the Burthen some or other will be obstinate & endeavour by Violence to throw it entirely off." *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. II, p. 48.

<sup>28</sup> Mereness, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

<sup>29</sup> *Board of Trade Papers, Proprieties 1697-1776*, Vol. XXI, Part. I.

every county and the judges of the Land Office chose the register. Whoever occupied these offices would naturally have considerable political support in the different counties.

Among the more important smaller administrative officers were: the naval officers, the sheriffs, the deputy commissaries, the county clerks, two treasurers, the surveyor generals, and deputy surveyors.<sup>30</sup> In theory, the Governor filled these subordinate positions. Naval officers received in 1761 a remuneration of £50 to £100 each, sheriffs £80 to £150, deputy commissaries £10 to £20, and county clerks £80 to £200.<sup>31</sup> Salaries of the clerks of the Upper and Lower houses, the Provincial Court, Land Office, and Paper Currency Office varied from £50 to £130.

An Upper and Lower House formed the legislative branch of the government. The Council acted not only in an advisory capacity but also formed the Upper House and no law could be enacted or repealed without its consent.<sup>32</sup> Naturally it was a small group and required little organization. A President served as the presiding officer and the clerk of the Council acted as clerk of the Upper House. Business did not warrant the use of standing committees. Dependent upon the Proprietor for the positions they enjoyed, members of the upper house were expected to support staunchly his rights and interests in all legislative matters. Furthermore, they represented the great landowners and the wealth of the province. Like all other second houses, the upper chamber acted as a check upon the democratic schemes of the lower chamber. For their services members of the Upper House received 150 pounds of tobacco *per diem* plus itinerant charges, while their colleagues of the Lower House drew ten pounds less *per diem*.

More popular in character and representative of the small planters, merchants, traders, and artisans was the Lower House. In spite of size and population, every county, the unit of representation, had four delegates and the city of Annapolis two, a

<sup>30</sup> Mereness, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-154.

<sup>31</sup> *Board of Trade Papers, Proprieties 1697-1776*, Vol. XXI, Part I.

<sup>32</sup> Mereness, *op. cit.*, pp. 198, 219.

total of fifty-eight. Population in the counties varied in 1775 from 5,715 persons in Calvert to 17,238 in Baltimore county.<sup>33</sup> The most heavily populated counties, Baltimore, Anne Arundel, Prince George, Charles, and Frederick, located on the Western Shore, had no more representation in the Lower House than Cecil, Somerset, or Kent, Eastern Shore counties with the smallest population. The total population of the Western Shore exceeded that of the East by 19,379 individuals. It is important to note then, that the Western Shore counties were by no means as well represented in the Assembly as those of the East Shore. No attempt, however, was made between 1753 and the American Revolution to reapportion representatives upon a more equitable basis. It was not prudent for the Proprietor to create new counties because every division simply increased the number of delegates opposed to proprietary rule.

Voting for members of the Lower House, except in Annapolis, was restricted to persons with a freehold of at least fifty acres or a visible estate of £50 sterling.<sup>34</sup> Anyone in the colonial capital could vote for the two city delegates provided he owned a house and lot within Annapolis, or has a visible estate worth twenty pounds sterling or had served five years in any trade within the city and then became an inhabitant. Roman Catholics could neither vote nor hold office without first taking the various prescribed oaths.

About once every three years, according to custom, the Assembly would be dissolved and new elections held. The Governor would direct a writ to the sheriff who immediately

<sup>33</sup> *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. XXXIV (1764), p. 261.

Population of the various counties in 1755:

Eastern Shore		Western Shore	
Worcester .....	10,125	Baltimore .....	17,238
Somerset .....	8,682	Anne Arundel.....	13,056
Dorset .....	11,753	Prince George.....	12,616
Talbot .....	8,533	Calvert .....	5,715
Queen Anne.....	11,240	Charles .....	13,056
Kent .....	9,443	St. Mary.....	11,254
Cecil .....	7,731	Frederick .....	13,969

<sup>34</sup> Mereness, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-201.

called a session of the county court to proclaim the approaching election.<sup>35</sup> Qualifications for membership in the Lower House were the same as those for regular voters, except that sheriffs and innkeepers were excluded and residence within the county was coupled with the possession of personal property. People took a great interest in elections and there was liquor in abundance about the polls. Discussion on the stump was sometimes hot and acrimonious. Keen party spirit existed. Voters assembled on the appointed days at the court house where clerks recorded the votes given *viva voce*. Failure to appear at the polls cost a voter one hundred pounds of tobacco. Returns from the elections stated the time and place, the names of persons chosen, and the signature of each voter. The Lower House acted as sole judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of members. Concerning the character of those usually elected, Eddis wrote, "The delegates returned are generally persons of the greatest consequence in their different counties; and many of them are perfectly acquainted with the political and commercial interests of their constituents."<sup>36</sup>

Organization and procedure in the Lower House followed closely that of the ancient House of Commons.<sup>37</sup> In a newly-elected Assembly, the members first subscribed to the various oaths and then selected a Speaker, who must be approved by the Governor, a clerk, a sergeant-at-arms, and a doorkeeper. With much more business to consider than the Upper House standing committees became necessary. At the opening of every new house a committee to audit accounts, a committee on laws, a committee on privileges and elections, a committee on grievances, a committee on courts, and a committee to inspect the condition of arms and ammunition were generally appointed. After adopting rules of order and standing resolutions, the house was ready to transact business. Every bill before becoming a

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 208-213; Thomas J. Scharf, *History of Maryland From the Earliest Period to the Present Day*, Baltimore, 1879, Vol. II, p. 97.

<sup>36</sup> William Eddis, *Letters from America, Historical and Descriptive; Comprising Occurrences from 1769 to 1777, inclusive*, London, 1792, p. 126.

<sup>37</sup> Mereness, *op. cit.*, pp. 219-220.

law must receive its approval and, following English precedent, it insisted on money bills originating in that house.

To administer justice Maryland possessed a hierarchy of courts. The Governor and Council sat as a Court of Appeals, the highest tribunal. Only cases where the value in dispute exceeded £50 sterling or 10,000 pounds of tobacco came to this court.<sup>38</sup> Appeals might be carried from this court to the King provided the value in dispute exceeded £300 sterling.<sup>39</sup> The Court of Appeals did not fill any considerable place in the popular mind though the most powerful court of the province.<sup>40</sup>

The Provincial Court was the great court of Maryland. It had original jurisdiction where the debt or damage amounted to at least £100 sterling or 5,000 pounds of tobacco and appellate jurisdiction in cases where the judgment of the county court exceeded 1,200 pounds of tobacco or £6 sterling.<sup>41</sup> Generally, any appeal beyond the Provincial Court was out of the ordinary. Nine justices composed the court and were appointed by the Governor who designated four or five of them of the quorum.<sup>42</sup> To hold a session, at least one of the quorum and one other justice had to be present. Each justice received 140 pounds of tobacco *per diem* plus itinerant expenses. Four of the justices, two for each shore, held circuit court in every county and for these services received 7,000 pounds of tobacco for each circuit. Pay was small and as a result the supreme court was one of the weakest parts of the government.

Serving upon the Provincial Court bench at the time of Sharpe's arrival were: George Dent, John Brice, John Darnall, John Hepburn, R. J. Henry, Richard Tilghman, George Steuart, William Goldsborough, and John Hall.<sup>43</sup> Sharpe had not been long in Maryland before Secretary Calvert was complaining of the "Egregious Weakness, as well as the Extrava-

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 229, 234, 238, 245; *Council Pro.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 28.

<sup>39</sup> Mereness, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

<sup>40</sup> Carroll T. Bond, *The Court of Appeals of Maryland, A History*, Baltimore, 1928, p. 53.

<sup>41</sup> Mereness, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-240, 245; *Council Pro.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 28.

<sup>42</sup> Mereness, *op. cit.*, pp. 246-247, 253.

<sup>43</sup> *Maryland Gazette*, March 14, 1754.

gant Byass" of the Provincial Court justices.<sup>44</sup> Most of them had been appointed before Sharpe came to Maryland and since no complaint had been made to him regarding their behaviour on the bench, the Governor hesitated to make any removals. He admitted, however, that the justices were "not such as would make a Figure in Westminster Hall" nor were they men "remarkably deficient in Point of Abilities or Understanding, nor do I believe they are disaffected to the Ld Proprietary or his Government."<sup>45</sup> So difficult was it to get men of good capacity that three of the justices, Brice, Tilghman, and Darnall, were even county clerks. Sharpe doubted the propriety of county clerks being Provincial Court justices, but he later concluded that they were treated with no less respect on account of it.<sup>46</sup> "Upon the whole," Sharpe wrote to Calvert, "I cannot say that I think our Provincial Justices equal to their Office, but at the same time I know not how the Evil is to be remedied, if such Men are not to be got as one could wish we must be contented with such as we can get & it would become the Lawyers instead of holding them cheap to make Allowance for their Want of a Regular Education & unless the Judges Conduct on other Occasions affords Room to think that they are partial or ill disposed Charity would incline one to attribute any Errors or Mistakes they made rather to their having misunderstood the Arguments urged on either side than to Wilfulness or Design; & after all if one may judge from the Number of Appeals that are made from that Court very few people are dissatisfied with their Determinations."<sup>47</sup> In another letter he said, "I am persuaded no accusations can be brought against our Judges that Those in other Colonies are not equally liable to."<sup>48</sup> Insufficient salary made it extremely difficult to get men of excellent legal ability to accept a place on the bench. Only 14 sh. a day while attending court were allowed the justices. Any able lawyer could amass a fortune through private practice and unless the colony paid a salary of at least £400 to £500

<sup>44</sup> *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. II, p. 381.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 431.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 68, Vol. II, p. 432.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 433.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 174.

sterling a year, Sharpe did not see how any one of note could be induced to become a justice of the Provincial Court.<sup>49</sup>

Secretary Calvert felt, however, that the situation might be improved if the number of justices could be reduced from nine to five. It would be easier to select five "who may be all Men of understanding & more free from Taint of popularity & other prejudices than a Large number. . . ." <sup>50</sup> He recommended the reduction to Sharpe and warned him, in picking the new justices, "to keep clear from persons, that are of Impenetrable Ignorance, & the silly affectation of popularity & unaccountable prejudice against his Lordships Rights, which have for some years past been too dominant there. . . ." <sup>51</sup> To induce well qualified persons to become judges Calvert also suggested, as an additional attraction, their succession from the bench to the Council. Until their arrival there, every possible regard should be granted them or their relatives. No reduction, however, was made. When vacancies occurred Sharpe always appointed the best available men. In 1776 he selected five new justices: Colonel Henry Hooper, James Weems, John Leeds, John Beale Bordley, and Major Jenifer. "They are All in my opinion," declared Sharpe, "Gent of Integrity & well attached to your Ldps Government & as well qualified as any I know to administer Justice unless some Gentlemen of the Law could be prevailed on to relinquish their Practice & sit on the Bench which can never be expected while the Allowance made the Provincial Justices for their Attendance is little more than sufficient to defray their Expences." <sup>52</sup>

County courts were the most popular courts. They met in March, June, August, and November. Some member of the Council always served as chief justice. In addition, there might be as high as twenty-eight justices; four or five were of the quorum.<sup>53</sup> At least one of the quorum and two other justices had to be present at every session. The Governor named the justices usually once a year and sometimes oftener. County

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 432.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 381.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 385.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 334.

<sup>53</sup> Mereness, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

justices depended entirely upon fees as compensation for their services. The jurisdiction of the county court extended to all criminal cases not involving life or death, except negroes, and in civil cases to all where the value in dispute did not exceed 30,000 pounds of tobacco or £150.<sup>54</sup> Any debt amounting to less than 600 pounds of tobacco or 50 sh. currency could be recovered before a single justice.<sup>55</sup>

When court opened the sheriff impanelled a grand jury to make inquests and return indictments. Either criminal or civil cases might be tried with or without a jury. Should the litigants agree to use a jury the expense became a part of the costs of the suit.<sup>56</sup> Where it was not mutually desired the party demanding a jury had to pay the cost, except in criminal cases. The pillory, stocks, whipping posts, gallows, and the burning iron were actively employed to punish criminals.<sup>57</sup>

There was also a chancery, admiralty, and probate courts with special functions to perform.

In local government the most important administrative unit was the county. It served as the unit of representation in the central government as well as the principal civil division for carrying into execution the will of that government. By counties taxes were apportioned and the militia organized and trained. County justices advised the sheriff on what days elections should be held; they sat with him during the election; they cared for the poor; they divided the county into hundred, highway precincts, and parishes; they provided the county with a standard of weights and measures; they bound out orphan children; and they appointed constables and overseers for the highway precinct.<sup>58</sup> During Sharpe's administration there were fourteen counties evenly divided between the Eastern and Western Shores. No new counties were created between 1754 and 1769.

Every county was divided into hundreds, but as the county had increased in importance, the hundred had declined in use-

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 238.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 241.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 246.

<sup>57</sup> Scharf, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 41; Mereness, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-255.

<sup>58</sup> Mereness, *op. cit.*, pp. 403-405; Lewis W. Wilhelm, *Maryland Local Institutions* (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science), Vol. III, Baltimore, 1885, pp. 64-96.

fulness. The constable, however, still performed valuable services: he prepared the lists of taxables, attended all sessions of the county court, executed all warrants issued by the justices, and raised the hue and cry.<sup>59</sup>

Maryland was almost townless. Although every effort had been made to promote the growth of towns they had failed to develop. There was little need, therefore, for any town government and wherever found it was simple in form: a group of commissioners with power to appoint other officers, hold court, and constitute markets and fairs. Annapolis was the only city. There, the mayor, recorder, six aldermen, and ten common councilmen formed a corporate body. Chosen from among the aldermen, the mayor served for one year. The recorder was always a lawyer, the aldermen were always selected from among the common councilmen, and the latter were chosen by the freemen of the city. A court of hustings composed of the mayor, recorder, or any three had jurisdiction over all actions, personal or mixed, in which the value did not exceed £6.10 or 1,700 pounds of tobacco. The sheriff of Annapolis executed the laws and ordinances made by the corporation.<sup>60</sup>

Presiding over these civil institutions became the arduous task of Governor Sharpe, and, on that hot afternoon in August, 1753, he swore to administer faithfully this highly centralized system of government, to do equal right to the poor and rich alike, and not for fear, favor, or affection, hinder or delay justice. Sharpe became at once the center from which proceeded the executive, military, administrative, and judicial authority and, in a large measure, the legislative activity. Autocratic powers had been entrusted to his care and through the power of appointment the influence of a non-resident, pleasure-seeking, profligate proprietor could be made effectually felt in every remote corner of the province. "This influence," declared Eddis, "is considered by many, as inimical to the essential interests of the people; a spirit of party is consequently excited; and every idea of encroachment is resisted, by the popular

<sup>59</sup> Mereness, *op. cit.*, p. 406; Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-63.

<sup>60</sup> Mereness, *op. cit.*, pp. 420-421; Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-129.

faction, with all the warmth of patriotic enthusiasm."<sup>61</sup> The proprietary officers had such ascendancy over the minds of the people as to have their friends elected into any and every public office. "The influence of office with the power of wealth," wrote Charles Willson Peale, "carried like a rapid stream all that fell within its Vortex."<sup>62</sup> Arrayed against this monarchial form of government was the lower house of the assembly, the champion of popular control. Stubbornly and persistently it fought during these sixteen years to free Maryland from proprietary rule and external control.

### LETTERS OF CHARLES CARROLL, BARRISTER.

(Continued from *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XXXII, 1, page 46.)

Sir

I shall ship you in the snow Experiment now Laying in Severn River in Maryland Robert Bryce Captain Ten Tons of Baltimore Pigg Iron. As I make no Doubt of its Clearing me at your Port six pounds  $\frac{3}{4}$  Ton Desire you will make Insurance on the said Vessell there and thence to port of Liverpool and there untill unlivered against all Dangers Barratry of Master or mariners &c. That in Case of Loss I may Draw Clear of all Deductions the sum of Sixty Pounds at the Easiest Premium. And the Charges of such Insurance Place to my Account

I am Sir your most Humble Servant

Annapolis Maryland Nov<sup>r</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> 1757

C. C.

To James Gildart Esq<sup>r</sup> merchant It is not by Galloways  
in Liverpool ship.

$\frac{3}{4}$  Cap<sup>t</sup> Chilton one of Mr  
Lounds Ships November the 22<sup>d</sup>  
for Liverpool  
 $\frac{3}{4}$  Cap<sup>t</sup> Lounds  $\frac{3}{4}$  Cap<sup>t</sup> Bryce

<sup>61</sup> Eddis, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

<sup>62</sup> Horace Wells Sellers, "Charles Willson Peale, Artist-Soldier," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XXXVIII (1914), p. 261.

Dear Sir

I have just time to acknowledge the Receipt of yours of the 14<sup>th</sup> of September Last: I never Knew that Birstall Intended for Bristol till he had sailed. And Hear it Proceeded from a Quarrell Between the two Partners: And Hope I shall be no sufferer by it. As surely the Insurers Cannot in Law or Justice Keep the Premium Where they were not at any Risque or Liable to any Loss in Case of the vessels Being Taken Going into Bristol and Where she did not sail on the voyage for which she was Insured. Having Cleared out for another Port

At most they Can but Claim the Premium for Insurance to the Port for which she Cleared at the Rate Insurance was at the time that was made must Leave it to you to transact for me in the affair in the best manner you Can.

I am glad to hear our Iron Keeps up in Price but that Plaguey moth of Insurance Eats up all Proffits on it.

Robert's ship the Lyon sailed with Convoy I am with Compliments to all with you Dear Sir

Your most Humble Servt

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland Dec<sup>r</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> 1757

To M<sup>r</sup> William Anderson  
merchant in London

ψ Cap<sup>t</sup> Bryce  
ψ Cap<sup>t</sup>. Lounds  
ψ Cap<sup>t</sup>. Somerwell  
to London Dec<sup>r</sup> 30<sup>th</sup>

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Sir/

Yours of the 6<sup>th</sup> of September Last ψ Captain Edmonds with the Goods sent by Him Came to hand those for my own Account are all Right, those for my Account for the Baltimore Company I have not yet Examined I was in Hopes that the Goods sent would not have Been Burthened with a higher Insurance then if they had Come by the fleet in the spring But find Nine Guineas ψ Ct addition, my Loss by that omission of sending them by that Convoy if not Corrected must be

upwards of 20 Guineas But Expect an Allowance we here allow one Quarter of a hundred in Every Ton of Pigg to make up for Differences of sales and what the Iron may Lose by breaking in Putting on board and stowing so think it strange that there should be any Deficiency when weighed with you And am much surprized at the Difference of sales, that sent to other Merchants the same year fetching me seven Pounds Ten  $\frac{3}{4}$  Ton, That to you only seven Pounds so that thereby in the Twenty Ton I Lose Ten Pounds

The Bill of Lading for the Iron In the Lyon Captain Dyer must Certainly be mislaid in your Counting House as I find by Goods sent me wrote for in mine of the 30<sup>th</sup> of November 1756 that one Copy of those Letters Inclosing one of the four Bills of Lading for the Iron in that Ship must have Reached you. Hope your Clerk will find it. I send you an attested Copy of the Remaining one by this opportunity but Hope it will be unnecessary and that I shall have no trouble in settling that Insurance.

You have not advised me what the Premium was. Hope it will not be higher than that Charged by other merchants in the Trade. I have but Just time to Close this Letter to you if I find any mistakes in your accounts sent me shall advise you of them

I am Sir yr Most Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland Dec<sup>r</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> 1757  
To M<sup>r</sup> John Steuart Merchant }  
in London }  
                                    }  $\frac{3}{4}$  Capt Bryce  
                                    } p<sup>r</sup> Capt Lounds  
                                    }  $\frac{3}{4}$  Capt Somerwell to London

---

Sir

Inclosed I send you Bill of Lading for Ten Ton of Baltimore Pigg Iron on Board the Experiment and Certificate of its being Plantation made

Hope by your Disposal of this for my Interest in the best

manner to be Incouraged to Carry on a Correspondance. The Iron is Extremely Good In Kind and Rarely sells in London under seven Pounds Ten shill<sup>s</sup>  $\frac{3}{4}$  Ton But must Hope a Better Price and Account from your Port shall be Glad to Have a Line from you by the first opportunity and am

Sir your most Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland }	
Nov <sup>r</sup> 13 <sup>th</sup> 1757 }	$\frac{3}{4}$ Cap <sup>t</sup> Bryce
To James Gildart Esq <sup>r</sup> }	$\frac{3}{4}$ Capt. Lounds
Merchant in Liverpool }	$\frac{3}{4}$ Capt. Somerwell to London
	Dec <sup>r</sup> 30 <sup>th</sup>

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Gent/

I wrote you of the 1<sup>st</sup> of Sept. last that I Had Drawn a set Bills on you at Sixty Days sight Payable to Mr Lancelot Jacques for one Hundred and forty five Pounds my occasions not Requiring it I have not Drawn the said Bill But have now Drawn a set on you Payable to Captain Francis Lounds of this Date for Fifty four Pounds Nine shillings and seven Pence at thirty days sight. Hope you will before this Reaches have Received my Pigg Iron and be in Cash for it before the Day of Payment of the Bills which I Desire you should Pay and Charge to my Account I am Gent

Your most Humble Servant

C C

Annapolis Maryland	
Dec <sup>r</sup> 12 <sup>th</sup> 1757	$\frac{3}{4}$ Cap <sup>t</sup> Bryce to
To Mess <sup>rs</sup> Gale and Ponsonby }	Liverpool
Merchant in White Haven	$\frac{3}{4}$ Cap <sup>t</sup> Lounds to D <sup>o</sup>
	$\frac{3}{4}$ Cap <sup>t</sup> Somerville to London

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Gent/

Yours of July the 26<sup>th</sup> is just now Come to hand and I assure you that I am so far from Doubting your Having Done the best for me in the Disposal of my Ship and her Cargo that it Gives me some uneasiness that I have not since been able to Consign to your management some of my Effects which is owing Intirely to your Captains Engaging to others before I had an opportunity of speaking to them.

But I hope to have it in my Power by them or some others to make you next year a Remittance to Clear the Ballance due to you for the advance of which to me I assure you I am much obliged.

I Promise you I am not so unreasonable as to be Displeased at any Person for Declining to Gratify my Requests at the Risque of their own fortunes.

I shall Give your account Credit by the Payments made for me mentioned in yours of the above Date and shall neglect no opportunity of Continuing a Correspondence with you and Convincing you that I am not unmindfull of the obligations Confer'd upon

Gentlemen your most Humble servt

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland

January 2<sup>d</sup> 1758

To John Hanbury Esqr  
& Company Merchants  
in London

¶ Captain  
Somerville to Lond<sup>n</sup>  
Jan<sup>ry</sup> 4<sup>th</sup>

---

Sir

I was and am still Informed that the Price of a pair of your mill stones was Ten Pounds which I am willing to Give for such a pair as you Describe full 15 Inches Thick and four feet in Diameter & hope you will not Exact upon me—if do must Get them Elsewhere I shall want them Delivered at my mill

near the Baltimore Iron works about the Latter End of March  
or Beginning of April

Shall be Glad to have a Line from you in Relation thereto

I am your Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis January 2<sup>d</sup> 1758  
To M<sup>r</sup> William Husbands Jun<sup>r</sup>  
Susquehanna . . .

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Annapolis January 17<sup>th</sup> 1758

Madam

I have as Ex. of my Father two Bonds of M<sup>r</sup> Tobias Stansburys one for seventy four Pounds six shillings sterling the principal and Interest By Payments was Reduced January 19<sup>th</sup> 1756 to Fifty six Pounds nineteen shillings sterling since when it is to have Credit By some Articles Bought of M<sup>r</sup> Stansbury a Joiner for whom I was to Give him Eighteen Pounds sterling and a Quarter Cask of Madeira seven Pounds Currency But as those Articles are on my Books at Patapseo Dont Know the Dates Exactly or would send you an Account Regularly Drawn off

The other Bond is for fifty Pounds sterling as security for M<sup>r</sup> Jas. Chaplin of Frederick County Dated the 3<sup>d</sup> of October 1752 all the Principal and Interest of which is due. M<sup>r</sup> Stansbury had Promised to Help me to what was Due on the first Bond to assist me in making up a sum I am shortly to Pay on Account of my Fathers Estate for your Assistance in which I shall be much obliged and for your Consideration of me in Relation to the other.

I am Madam with Respects your most Humble Servant

C. C.

To M<sup>rs</sup> Stansbury }  
Baltimore County }

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Sir

Handel Henn is in your Custody at my suit as Executor of my Father I Do not Recollect what the sum is that is due on his Bond for Principal and Interest But it may be seen as the Bond I suppose is in your County office He writes me word he Can Pay me Immediately thirty Pounds and Can Give me his Bond with Good security for the Remainder as the Keeping him in Confinement must be Greatly to his Detriment If youl Please to see what is Due on his Bond and Receive of him for me the thirty Pounds and take his Bond Payable to me for the Remainder with such security as you shall think Good I will agree that he may be Discharged He must Pay all fees and Costs

I am Sir your most Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

Annapolis April 27<sup>th</sup> 1758

C. C.

To I. Dickson Esqr Sheriff }  
of Frederick County }  
———

Sir

I shall ship you in your ship the St George Cap<sup>t</sup> Montgomery now Loading in Chester River twenty five Tons of Baltimore Pigg Iron. I Desire that you will make Insurance on the said vessell for me there and thence to the Port of London till un-livered that in Case of Loss I may Draw Clear of all Deduc-tions five Pounds 3<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> Ton which as I hope she will sail with Convoy will be at a moderate Premium.

I am Sir your most Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland June 15<sup>th</sup> 1758

To M<sup>r</sup> William Anderson }  
Merch<sup>t</sup> in London } sent to New York by the Post  
Given to John Golder

Given to M<sup>r</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> Lloyd to send By for Virginia  
Col<sup>o</sup> Loyd two ships Fanning & Noel

Per Captain Martin June 30<sup>th</sup> 1758  
Sent by M<sup>r</sup> Johnson to put on board some ship in  
Charles County for Scotland

Sir

I shall ship you in your ship the King of Prussia Captain Thomson now lying in Patowmack river Twenty Tons of Baltimore Pigg Iron as I hope Insurance will be Low as she will sail with Convoy I suppose

I Desire you will make Insurance on the said vessell for me there and thence to the Port of London till unlivered that in Case of Loss I may Draw Clear of all Deductions six Pounds  $\frac{3}{4}$  Ton

I am Sir your most Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis June 30<sup>th</sup> 1758

To M<sup>r</sup> Anthony Bason }  $\frac{3}{4}$  Capt Creamore  
Merchant in London } Given to John Golder to put on  
board some ship in Virginia  
sent by the way of New York

Given to N. Maccubbin to send }  
by Captain Martin }

Sent by M<sup>r</sup> Wolstenholme to put on board one of Coll Lloyds ships. not sent Ship. Being sailed

Sent by M<sup>r</sup> Johnson to put on board a Scotch ship in Charles County

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Gent

It is with Pleasure that I Embrace this opportunity of Shipping you by your ship the Lyon Captain Snow now Laying in Choptank River Eight Tons of Barr Iron and four Tons of Pigg as I hope the Barr Iron will Clear me at Least fifteen Pounds  $\frac{3}{4}$  Ton and the Pig five Pounds p<sup>r</sup> Ton. Desire you would make Insurance on the said Vessel for me there and thence to the Port of London and there untill unlivered that

In Case of Loss I may Draw Clear of all Deductions the sum  
of one hundred and forty Pounds

I am Gentlemen your M. Hble Servt

C. C.

Annapolis July 2<sup>d</sup> 1758  
To John Hanbury Esq<sup>r</sup> and }  
Company Mercht in London }

Aug<sup>st</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> Golder

Given to John Golder to put  
on board some ships in  
Virginia

Sent to New York  
by the Post.

Given to Mr Wolstenholms to  
send by two of Coll Lloyds ships }

Sent by a ship in Charles County to Scotland ♢ Mr Johnson

Sir

I send you By the Hands of Mr Outerbridge Horsey £32.. 10.. 0 our Currency which I suppose at Least on a par with yours to pay for Two Stills to be had of James Holdan Copper smith in Front Street Be spoke for me by Mr Zachariah Hood when last with you the weight of one about fifty four Gallons & the other about Twenty seven Gallons the Copper worms to Each Included at Eight Shillings ♢ Gallon. I would have them Contrived so as to Come to me by the next Packet Boat from Sasafras on board of which he is by agreement to Deliver them at his own Expence If there should any Further Expence Accrue on them Please to make Charge thereof to me and the money shall be Remitted you by the first opportunity

I am Sir your most Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland July 7<sup>th</sup> 1758  
To Mr Reese Meredith mercht }  
in Philadelphia }

Sent ♢ Mr Outerbridge Horsey

Sir

I Have this Day By Mr Outerbridge Horsey the first safe Hand that offer'd sent up to Mr Reese Meredith at Philadelphia on yr acct £32.. 10.. 0 to Pay for the stills w<sup>ch</sup> are Ready and orders to Have them sent to Annapolis By the next Packet Hope they will Come Safe and in suitable Time.

I am Respectfully Sir

yr most H<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

July 7<sup>th</sup> 1758

C. C.

To Mr Henry Griffith  
Elk Ridge

Gent/

I Received yours by the Dragon with the Mill Stones with your Account Current, for all my Effects shipped you Except the Iron and Tobacco in the Tryall mills. there were two Hogsheads in that vessel that went on my Account one with my own mark the other marked P A E N<sup>o</sup> 1 for which I sent you a Bill of Loading. the Glass Received by the Whites Bought of Elizabeth Adams was but Bristol Glass tho' she Charges me with best Crown Glass and I think she should Refund the Difference. I observe you Charge me in your Account £4.. 14.. 0 for Commission and Brokerage on Recovery of the Insurance on the Lyon as the money was paid I suppose in London there Could not be much more Trouble in the Receipt of it than if Due on Bills Remitted But if an usual Charge must submit shall Expect my Iron in Mills will sell for more than seven Pounds otherwise the out Ports will be the best Markets to send to

Should this year have shipped you some but your ships were Engaged I am with Great Regard

Gent your most Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland Aug<sup>st</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> 1758  
To Messrs John Steuart and Company  
Merchants in London p<sup>r</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Montgomerie & Watson

Gentlemen/

I Received yours of the 20<sup>th</sup> of March last with my account Current Ballance in my Favour £136.. 14.. 0 I did indeed Expect my Iron would have sold for more than seven Pounds  $\frac{3}{4}$  Ton as it is of that Kind that Could not be hurt in Price by any Quantity that Could be Run from the Furnace that make Iron with Pit Coal its being of the soft tough and malleable Kind and that Run from Pit Coal if it Can be Done to answer Expence which I must Doubt must be hard Charlish and only fit for Castings and Cannot Possibly interfere with us nor have we any such advices from London where it sells @ £7.. 10.. 0 But I find Every method Taken to Lower the value of what Comes from the Colonys which I think you Gentlemen in the Trade should Endeavour as much as you Can to support as the Price is to Low at your Port we Cannot afford to Give a Greater freight to Git it thither than to London which was never more than 7/6  $\frac{3}{4}$  Ton and 10 or 15 shillings  $\frac{3}{4}$  Ton a better Price The Ballance in my Favour after Paying the Bill to Captain Francis Lounds will be £102.. 4.. 5 for which I have Drawn a sett of Bills on you of this Date Payable to M<sup>r</sup> Lancelot Jacques at Thirty Days sight which I Desire you will Pay and Charge to my account. I shall be Glad to hear from you and Whether your Market is Like to Prove better as I shall with Pleasure Carry on a Correspondence with you if I Can do it on any footing so as not to be Great a sufferer as I am with Great Regard

Gent your most Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland Aug<sup>st</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> 1758 }  
To Mess<sup>rs</sup> Gale and Ponsonby }  
Merchants in White haven       $\frac{3}{4}$  Capt. Montgomerie & Watson  
on Copy to Jacques

P. S to M<sup>r</sup> Bacons letter below

I wrote the above before I had Received my Invoice from the Baltimore works for my supply to which the Goods are In-

tended & find they will Come to more then Expected if you do not Chuse to send the whole Invoice send the Linnens woollens &c. from the beginning of the Invoice to the amount of what the Iron will Clear Insured as above

y<sup>rs</sup> as Supra

---

Sir

I have shipped you in your Ship the King of Prussia Captain Thomson twenty Tons of Baltimore Pigg Iron for which I send you Bill of Loading and a Certificate of its being Plantation made I am in hopes it will Clear me at Least six pounds  $\frac{3}{4}$  Ton

I Desire you will send me by the first ship Comeing with Convoy Convenient to Patapsco River the Contents of the Inclosed Invoice Marked. and make Insurance for me that in Case of Loss I may Draw Clear the Cost of the said Goods and Expences

If the Produce of the Pigg Iron Does not Intirely answer the Charges and Cost of the Goods you may Depend on being Satisfied what ever you are in advance for me by the next shipping Either by Bills of Exchange or by Pigg Iron or other Remittance

I am Sir y<sup>r</sup> most humble serv<sup>t</sup>

C. C.

Annapolis Aug<sup>st</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> 1758  
To M<sup>r</sup> Anthony Bacon Merch }  
in London }

$\frac{3}{4}$  Capt Montgomerie & Thomson

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Sir

I Hope youl Receive safe by your ship the St George Captain Montgomery 25 Tons of Baltimore Pig Iron for which I send you Inclosed Bill of Lading and Certificate of its being Plantation made and Desire you would by the first of your

ships Coming with Convoy Convenient to Annapolis send me the Contents of the Inclosed Invoice and make Insurance thereon so that in Case of Loss I may Recover the amount of them Clear of all Charges as they are for my own use I would have them the best of the sorts—the furniture of the neat Plain fasshion and Calculated for Lasting nothing of the Whimsical or Chinese Tast which I abominate

The Cloaths I would have made by Jonathan Reynolds a Taylor in new Court Carey street Lincolns Inn fields who has my measure but I believe I am through Laziness something Fatter than when I left you but in Case he should have Lost my measure Inclosed I send it Taken here

As I hope you are before this time in Cash for my Iron by the Lyon I have Drawn on you the undermentioned Bills which I Desire you will Pay and Charge to my Account If there should be any Ballance due to you on account of the Goods wrote for it shall be Remitted to you by Effects next year and I suppose none of the Tradesmen with you but would willingly Deal at a Twelve months sure Pay but would Rather be Disappointed in the Furniture and Cloaths than my Bills should meet with Dishonour

I sincerely wish you and Family all Happiness  
and am Dear Sir your most Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

C. C.

Annapolis Aug<sup>st</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> 1758

To James Maceubbin £100.. 0.. 0

To Henry Griffith 30.. 0.. 0

130.. 0.. 0

for Mr William Anderson merchant in }  
London }

p<sup>r</sup> Capt. Montgomerie & Watson

Invoice of Sundry Goods sent Inclosed in a Letter to Mr William Anderson Merchant in London Dated the 20<sup>th</sup> of August 1758 viz—for my own use

Hatts 2 Dozen of mens Felts  
4 pieces of osnabrigs @ about 6<sup>d</sup> 1/2 and 7<sup>d</sup> ™ Ell  
2 pieces of Grey Fearnought  
4 pieces of Welsh Cotton  
6 Loaves of Double and 6 single refined sugar  
2 pieces of blew 1/2 thick  
1 Dozen of blew worsted or yarn hose for servant women at  
about 9 or 10 shillings ™ Dozen  
1 piece of matchcoat Blankets  
2 pieces of Irish Linnen @ 1<sup>s</sup>/2<sup>d</sup>  
2 p<sup>s</sup> of Chex @ 10<sup>d</sup>  
4 Pound of brown oz<sup>a</sup> thread & 1<sup>b</sup> of Green Ditto  
6 ticks of Red mohair  
1 Gross of Brass waistcoat buttons with Good strong shanks  
1 Gross of best velvet Corks for Quart Bottles  
1 Pound of best Jesuit Bark Powdered and Close Packed  
1 Dove Tail saw and one Tenant Ditto  
18 pair of H Hinges 18 Inches Long the joints Raised full  
half an Inch  
1 Pound of Ginger and 1/2 Pound of best Rhubarb  
1/2 Pound of Jalap  
1/4 Pound of Glauber Salts  
3 scrubbing Brush heads and 3 broom Ditto.  
12 Mahogany Chairs with black Leather seats of the Neat Plain  
Fassion and Strong at about two Pounds ™ Chair  
2 suitable Mahogany Dining Tables made so as to fit into each  
other if occasion Lengthways about £ each  
1 Gilt Framed Looking Glass of the Plain fassion about  
Eight Pounds  
1 square Mahogany Card Table about three Pounds  
1 Gilt framed Looking Glass about three Pounds  
4 pieces of Printed Cotton at about 25/ Each piece fit for bed  
Curtains of Grave Colour Figure Large one suit of  
Padusoy or other strong fasshionable Cloaths Coat  
waistcoat and Breeches of the Inclosed Colour Buttons  
the same not made in the Extremity of the Fashion.

Send pieces that are left will serve to Repair and Buttons

1 Dozen Waistcoat and  $\frac{1}{2}$  Dozen silver Coat Buttons of the Inclosed Patern

1 scarlet Rackolo suitable to a Person about five foot Eight Inches high single Cape made wide and full so as to throw the Corners over the shoulders and no buttons or Button Holes Corded or worked Round the Edges narrow with silk of the same Colour

2 pair of white silk stockings about 14/  $\frac{3}{4}$  pair

1 Fashionable Gold Laced hat the Lace Plain.

300<sup>lb</sup> Weight of sheet Lead fit for Lining the Gutters of a House—

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Gent/

I have Shipped you in your Ship the Lyon Capt<sup>t</sup> Snow Eight Tons of Bar and four Tons of Baltimore Pig Iron the Barr was made at our Baltimore forge and from Pigg Iron of the same Kind as that shipped and Inclosed I send you a Certificate of both being Plantation made and Bill of a Certificate of both being Plantation made and Bill of Loading. As the Government at Home seem Resolved to Encourage the Importation of Bar Iron from the Plantations the Navy Board Take what Quantitys they Can Get and as we hear at £21.. 10.. 0  $\frac{3}{4}$  Ton so that hope this now sent will Clear me as it Goes with Convoy at Least £18  $\frac{3}{4}$  Ton or it will not be worth shipping as it sells hear from 28 to 30 Pounds our Currency  $\frac{3}{4}$  Ton

I am with Sincere wishes for yr Welfare

Gent yr mo H<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

C. C.

Annapolis Aug 20<sup>th</sup> 1758

To Jn<sup>o</sup> Hanbury Esqr & Comy

Merch<sup>ts</sup> in London

Given Capt Chew to Give to Capt<sup>t</sup> Snow

$\frac{3}{4}$  Capt. Montgomerie & Watson

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Sir/

Yours of the 8<sup>th</sup> of May last I Received and am sorry to Hear our Pigg Iron bears so Low a price with you as it sells at London for seven Pounds fifteen shillings  $\frac{3}{4}$  Ton

As I hope you will be in Cash for the Iron before this Reaches you I have Drawn on you Payable to Mr Nicholas Maccubbin of this Date for fifty Pounds And shall be Glad to hear that the Price Rises with you. Your Project for Running Pigg with Pit Coal will I believe meet with the fate of many of that Fraternity But even should they succeed the Iron they will be able to make as it Can never be fit for any thing but Castings will by no means Lower the Price of ours which is of the Tough Malleable Kind

I am Sir your most Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

Annapolis Aug<sup>t</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> 1758

C. C.

To James Gildart Esq<sup>r</sup> merch<sup>t</sup> in  
Liverpool

$\frac{3}{4}$  Capt. Montgomerie &  
or Copy to N. Maccubbin

Invoice of Sundry Goods sent Inclosed in a letter to Mr Anthony Bacon merchant in London Dated 20<sup>th</sup> of Aug<sup>t</sup> 1758 for the Baltimore works

1500 Ells of osnabrigs	@ 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
4 pieces brown Roles	
4 d <sup>o</sup> Hessens	
2 d <sup>o</sup> brown Holland	at about $\frac{1}{3}$
2 d <sup>o</sup> Stript d <sup>o</sup>	$\frac{1}{4}$
4 d <sup>o</sup> yard wide Irish Linnen	$\frac{1}{2}$
4 d <sup>o</sup>	d <sup>o</sup>
2 d <sup>o</sup>	d <sup>o</sup>
2 d <sup>o</sup>	Chex
2 d <sup>o</sup>	Callico
2 d <sup>o</sup>	$\frac{1}{8}$ Dowlas
2 d <sup>o</sup>	Cotton Romallo
2 d <sup>o</sup>	silk Ditto
1 d <sup>o</sup>	Bed ticking
	$\frac{1}{6}$

1 d°	fustain	$\frac{1}{4}$
3 pieces Welsh Cotton		$\frac{1}{2}$
3 d° matchcoat Blankets		
3 d° Kerseys		$\frac{1}{6}$
1 d° Green Pennistone		$\frac{1}{3}$
1 d° German Serg.		$\frac{3}{6}$
1 d° Bear Skin		$\frac{3}{4}$
2 d° Callimanco		$\frac{1}{10}$
1 d° Shalloon & trimmings for Bear Skin		
1 d° blue and white flowered flannel		$\frac{1}{4}$
40m ten penny nails		

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### PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

*March 8th, 1937.*—The regular meeting of the Society was held to-night with President Riggs in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved, as read.

A list of the donations made to the library since the last meeting was read.

The following named persons, having been previously nominated were elected to Membership:

*Active:*

Mrs. Henry Dupont Baldwin	Walter S. Meyer
Mrs. George C. Bounds	Mrs. Alan L. Gordon
Mr. Forrest Dodge Bowie	Rev. Walter Milton
Dr. DeWitt B. Casler	Haushalter
Ryland N. Dempster	Arthur C. Howard
Mrs. James W. Flack, Jr.	Mrs. Edith Sappington
Miss Susan Carroll Poultney	Karl A. M. Scholtz
Frick	John Harwood Stanford
	Mrs. Huntington Williams

*Associate:*

Miss Martha Lou Houston

The following death was reported:

Mrs. Blanchard (Susan Katharine Brune) Randall, died February 10th, 1937.

The speaker of the evening, Mr. H. Findlay French, was introduced. Mr. French gave a very entertaining talk entitled "Human Interest Items from Early Maryland Newspapers."

Mr. Marshall Winchester was recognized by the Chair. He moved that a vote of thanks be extended by the Society to Mr. French for his most delightful and interesting talk. So done.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

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*April 12, 1937.*—The regular meeting of the Society was held tonight with President Riggs in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

A list of the donations made since the last meetings were read.

The following named persons were elected to membership:

*Active:*

Dr. James Bordley, 3rd	Mayor H. W. Jackson
Rodney J. Brooks	Thomas F. Mayer
Charles C. Conlon, Jr.	Mrs. Thomas F. Mayer
Miss Ida Eaton	O. H. Nance
Mrs. Emmet R. Ewell	Stanley G. Remington
Mrs. John Gray Goldsmith	Henry G. Riggs
Frederick J. Green	Alan P. Smith, 3rd
Mrs. J. Melvin Green	Walter Prescott Smith
Hall Hammond	Henry M. Warfield
Daniel E. Klein	Mrs. Henry M. Warfield
Harry F. Klinefelter	George A. Whiting
Mrs. Harry O. Link	Mrs. Charles R. Weld
R. Fowler Miller	

*Associate:*

John O'Brien

An invitation was read from the Cecil County Historical Society asking the members of the Maryland Historical Society to join them in the unveiling ceremonies of the historical marker commemorating the birthplace of James Rumsey, the inventor of the steamboat, to take place on Saturday, May 1, at Warwick, Cecil County, Maryland.

The following deaths were reported from among our members:

Henry G. Hilken, died March 20th, 1937.

Hon. Albert Sidney Johnson Owens, died March 29th, 1937.

Hon. J. Frank Supplee, Jr., died April 2, 1937.

Dr. Jacob J. Weaver, Jr., died April 10, 1937.

Miss M. Letitia Stockett gave a most delightful account of the early days in Baltimore entitled: "Baltimore Back-grounds."

Mr. William Ingle moved that a vote of thanks be extended to Miss Stockett for her most interesting talk.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

JAMES E. HANCOCK,  
*Recording Secretary.*

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#### NOTES AND QUERIES.

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CARROLL. Wanted names of both parents of Charles and Daniel Carroll of Dudington Manor.

Miss Virginia L. Madden,  
40 N. Elm st.,  
Manchester, Connecticut.

*Captains and Mariners of Early Maryland.* By RAPHAEL SEMMES. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1937. \$5.00 (Published May 25. Review promised for next issue of this Magazine.)

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CORRECTION. On page 48 of the March issue of the Magazine, last and next to last line, read *Thomas Miles* for Thomas Marsh. N. B. N.

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#### SPECIAL NOTICE.

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During the vacation season, August 1st to 22nd, the Society's Rooms will be closed.